ENGLISH FOR SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES:

A ROUTE TO CIVIC INTEGRATION?

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Certificate of Research

This is to certify that, except where specific reference is made, the work described in this thesis is the result of the candidate's research. Neither this thesis, nor any part of it, has been presented, or is currently submitted, in candidature for any degree at any other University.

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Abstract

This research establishes the extent to which English for Speakers of Other Languages classes (ESOL) are a route to integration in British society. In achieving this aim, this thesis examines whether there is sufficient recognition of the ESOL qualification, whether ESOL course materials promote integration in society, and whether the experiences of ESOL learners support greater integration in society. Following a review of relevant literature, there is limited research which explores the aspirations of ESOL learners, the barriers they face and how the learner experience fits into the context of the State's attempts to promote greater integration. In resolving these objectives, this thesis provides a top down as well as bottom up approach, with evidence gathered from ESOL learners, teaching staff and a former Home Secretary. This thesis makes an original contribution to the field of research by identifying a need to raise the status of the ESOL qualification to meet the aspirations of the learner, as well as meeting the needs of the State. Furthermore, in giving retrospective insight into ESOL from the responsible Home Secretary, this research provides a significant contribution to existing knowledge.

This thesis also finds that for many ESOL learners, employment and educational progression are priorities to learners and often the main reason for attending the classes. For the government, civic, cultural and economic integration is prioritised, with the promise of the national rebirth through greater participation (Sandman 2008). This thesis evidences the way this integration is achieved through the ESOL material.

Renewal of the nation and the role of nationalism is the subject of much debate among theorists. Although in this debate, theorists may disagree on a plethora of issues, most agree that language, both written and spoken, is a cornerstone of both 'society' and 'nationhood'. In the policy realm, arguments supporting the inclusive potential of language and the importance of communication for inclusion and a feeling of national identity came to the fore through the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002. This Act introduced English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) as a vehicle for language learning and, for a time, as a route to citizenship for migrants. This route requires both commitment and progression through language testing with includes embedded citizenship material. Since this Act was introduced, ESOL has grown and developed with high profile campaigns and research advocating adequate funding and provision. Although its role as a route to citizenship has changed, ESOL has retained a central place in the integration of migrants.

This thesis utilises theories of nations and nationalism as a way of assessing the importance of language to the State and migrants, and therefore the importance of ESOL. The thesis describes tiers of the ESOL policy: the high-level government policy; the medium level of how the policy is reproduced by ESOL teachers; the grass roots level of how this is received by learners. The research explores the views of a former Home Secretary and provides a retrospective view both of ESOL successes and areas for further development of the approach. Primarily however, this thesis focuses on the classroom experience of learners and teachers through a year-long ethnographic study within a large ESOL centre.

A key finding of this research is that employability and progression onto University is a motivator for migrant learners, however, there is a lack of lack of recognition of the ESOL qualification. To assist learners in achieving their aspirations there is a need to raise the status of the ESOL qualification,

Furthermore, this thesis argues that materials used within the ESOL classroom facilitate integration, through the using features of nationalism theory. Although significant barriers to language learning and integration remain.

It was also found that non-educational influences including finance, immigration status and social acceptance play a substantial role in the attainment of the qualification and ability to commit to studying. This is further intensified by interaction with state institutions, particularly the UK Border Agency and Job Centre.

Introduction

Immigration has increasingly become a mainstay topic for the mainstream media in the UK. Between 2010 and 2012, the Migration Observatory (2013:2) found "some 58,000 news stories and other newspaper items, made-up of more than 43 million words, from stories which include key terms such as MIGRANT, IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES, ASYLUM SEEKERS or variations of those words". The common descriptors for immigrants were "illegal" and "terrorist", whereas for migrants, the common descriptors related to "jobs" and "benefits". Indeed, Blackledge 2009:41) points out that "the media frequently constructs an oppositional national identity at the expense of some of the country's citizens and non-citizen residents".

The tone of the stories progressed by the mainstream media considered alongside the 2001 Oldham riots demonstrates the 'parallel' lives" (Moore 2011:1) and tensions which exist between some communities in UK cities. The riots were described in the media as an expression by minority groups of the disenfranchised and segregated communities which were evident in some UK cities, and in May 2016 it was reported that "lessons from race riots in Oldham have still not been implemented across the UK leaving tensions 'easy' to emerge" (BBC 2016:1). The disenfranchised communities experiencing these 'parallel lives' refer to a lack of social and economic activity in wider society. Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002) has advocated for the promotion of active citizenship to bridge the gap between native and settled communities to prevent parallel lives, but has persistently disputed "that lack of fluency in English was in any way directly responsible for the disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in the summer of 2001", further stating, "let us be clear that the lack of English fluency did not cause the riots".

Although as Blackledge (2006:77) stated "if lack of fluency in English was not directly responsible for the rioting, the possibility, and even the implication, remains that it was therefore indirectly responsible".

The Oldham Independent Review (Ritchie 2001:82, cited by Khan 2014:7) found that "there is resentment that many Asians have only a poor understanding of English. This results in a lack of interaction between the white and Asian communities. This lack of interaction leads to suspicion and fear". Khan (2014:6) states "The legislative response to the riots arrived in the form of the NIAA [Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act] 2002 which demanded that immigrants and would-be citizens would require 'sufficient knowledge' of English (Home Office 2002). This would be secured through ESOL with Citizenship classes or a new test called LUK (Life in the UK), focusing on the English language and British culture". Although the link between ESOL classes and citizenship was removed in 2015, the role of ESOL in promoting social cohesion and "focusing on English language and British culture" has not changed (Khan 2014:6). This is supported by the Government commissioned Casey (2016:169) report stated that "a shared language is fundamental to integrated societies".

The aim of this research is to establish the extent to which ESOL is a route to integration in society. This aim will be met through considering three objectives which are 'to establish whether there is sufficient recognition of the ESOL qualification'; 'to examine ESOL course materials to understand whether they promote integration in society'; and 'identify whether the experiences of ESOL learners support greater integration in society'.

This thesis is not about national identity, nor does it seek assess the successes or failings of integration and in society. These topics have been well researched and the benefit of findings from English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes in this area would be limited. This thesis is not only about how 'the State' seeks to promote English language and instil an understanding of British culture, but also the journey of migrants who attend ESOL classes and are working towards their aspirations. In taking this approach, both a 'top down' and 'bottom up' experience is given.

The rhetoric of politicians in recent years has moved from a place where "under the New Labour government, the state…begun to describe British society explicitly in multicultural terms, employing a new politics of race that has come to be implemented in policy and legislation" (Pitcher 2007:1), to David Cameron (2011) who explained "under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream. We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong". As a core service to minority communities, ESOL is uniquely placed to play a distinct role in furthering the vision of society sought by Cameron (2011).

The discussion of a better 'vision' by Cameron (2011) highlights the way in which information channels down from the State to these communities, and the importance of recognising how this is received. Therefore, this thesis relies on a methodology which employs both a top-down and bottom-up approach.

The top-down review will be taken by examining the policy background of immigration policy, analysing the State produced ESOL materials, and an elite interview with a key policy maker.

English Speakers of Other Languages classes are not a new phenomenon; they have been a longstanding feature of the post-war immigration environment. However, the combination of segregation and civil unrest in 2001 led to the role of ESOL becoming formalised and the inclusion of a core curriculum ensured standards were maintained. The UK policy context when passed in 2001 is considered alongside the policies of other countries to identify the differences and similarities in the approach. The materials produced by the State are termed 'Citizenship Materials for ESOL Classes', but referred to as the 'Learners Pack' within this research.

This Learners Pack not only provides classroom materials; it gives the topics to be taught and states that 'classroom materials should be derived from this guidance' (Home Office 2010:xxi). It is the introduction of these materials as part of a standardised education system focus upon the acquisition of a common language which, it is argued, demonstrates the attempt by the State to renew the nation and instil nationalism through ESOL learners. With a common language and standardised education system being a key construct of nationhood for Gellner (1983), it is argued that these are the basis of the State's attempt to create community cohesion in response to the Oldham riots. In addition, the materials themselves include elements of other authors' theories of nationalism including the Anderson's (1991) 'imagined community'; Smith's (1998, 1999) theories of myths and history as well as Billig's (1995) theory of 'banal nationalism', which further bolster that

State's efforts. It is accepted that the definitions of both nations and nationalism are problematic, and that there are theories which emphasise polarising views. This thesis does not seek to critique these theories, instead it seeks to demonstrate how these theories are employed within the ESOL classroom to "exalt one nation above all others" (Vadura 2013:559). With the State's belief that classroom materials be 'derived' from these topics, the materials and topics of the ESOL classroom are fundamental to this, analysing whether the attempts of the State are replicated within the classroom.

The bottom-up approach will seek to understand the topics and materials of the ESOL classroom; this research centred on an ethnographic study within a large ESOL centre. By following a Level 2 ESOL class for a year, this research benefits from the insight and input of 16 ESOL learners and their teaching staff. Level 2 learners were chosen due to their greater understanding of ESOL classes, their ability to provide fully informed consent and that the ESOL centre found Level 2 students to be the most likely level to apply for citizenship. This does not mean that Level 2 is the point at which ESOL learners reached competency, but more that it is the end of their ESOL education and a time where learners focus on their lives beyond ESOL and concentrate on their ambitions. By attending ESOL lessons throughout the academic year, it was possible to build a relationship with both the learners and the staff. This relationship was of particular importance with the learners, given the background of those seeking asylum with a mistrust of authority figures and strangers.

The ESOL centre was chosen as it has a large and well established provision based within a further education College. The demographics of the area feature long-standing settlements of ethnic minority groups which contain a sizeable proportion with English language needs.

The demographics of the area demonstrate it is typical of many UK cities with a settled minority groups; however, like Brubaker et al. (2006:168), this thesis will "let ethnicity emerge, where relevant, but not to 'insist it into relevance'". This means there will be "no chapters on ethnic identity or solidarity, or the formation of ethnic groups, or ethnic stereotyping and discrimination, or the ethnic division of labour, or ethnic myths, symbols and traditions". An approach has been adopted to ensure that the experience and environment of the ESOL learner is focused and not diluted. The analysis of the nationalism and nations being introduced as part of the effort of the State to promote British values and culture in society. This does not rely on an analysis or discussion of ethnicity, identity or level of integration and therefore they are omitted.

This thesis does not rely on the discussions of integration in society. If this the research was reliant upon outcomes of ESOL rather than its journey, these terms would be intrinsic to the debate. Instead, this research adopts the perspective of Ager (2001:2) who despite authoring a report on 'indicators of integration', states "the objective of the study has not been to define integration…[and] the study does not seek to impose a uniform measure of integration". Furthermore, this research relies upon "the key factors that appear to contribute to the process", as opposed to imposing inflexible definitions.

This thesis contributes to knowledge by identifying the need to raise the status of the ESOL qualification, to meet the needs of learners and the State. This research has great significance for ESOL, highlighting the barriers and aspiration of ESOL learners, and finding a need to benchmark the ESOL qualification to mainstream qualifications, ensuring greater recognition. Studies have explored the lives and experiences of ESOL learners and the importance of the qualification. However, this research incorporates the experiences and opinions of ESOL learners, along with teaching staff and the former Home Secretary responsible for creating the ESOL policy, adding significantly to the existing knowledge base. This provides a unique insight into the aims and agenda of the State, along with the barriers and aspirations of ESOL learners. Therefore, this research provides an original perspective on a subject which is consistently at the forefront of British society.

This thesis is separated into two parts. The first three chapters provide an overview of nations and nationalism, the background to the policy environment and an introduction to ESOL, including an overview of literature related to the aspirations of learners and the barriers to their learning. The second part of this thesis present the results of the research into the experiences of a Level 2 ESOL class in a South Wales ESOL centre. Chapter Four presents the methodological approach to the research undertaken. Chapter Eight provides the analysis and discussion of the thesis, followed by the conclusions.

This thesis argues that the route to integration for learners relies on striving for aspirations including work and greater education, which is supported and promoted within the ESOL classroom. The aspiration for the State, however, is to establish an

understanding of British values and culture, which is promoted through the constructs of nationalism theory as a path to national renewal. The basis of these theories is the subject of the following chapter.

1. National Renewal: The Nation and Nationalism

This chapter will introduce the topic of the nation and the concepts of nationalism, providing a theoretical basis followed by how these theories are practised in African, Arab and European countries. These foundations will be used to identify and compare the use of nationalism within the ESOL classes undertaken by migrant groups in the UK.

The topics are complex; there are key arguments which relate to the meaning of each term and even in which order they should be discussed. As Gellner (1964:169) claimed, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist", resulting in the idea that "it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round" (Gellner 1983:55). If the origins and creation of the nation were central to this thesis, it is likely there would be a discussion of nationalism prior to nations. However, knowledge of the nation is only important as it explains what 'the State' seeks to renew and strengthen through promoting migrant integration in society, but is not a primary focus of this research. This thesis argues that nationalism is paramount to the process of the State's attempts at promoting migrant integration in society using ESOL classes. Therefore, although an introduction to nations is required, an assessment of nationalism is central to the discussion about how 'the State' seeks to integrate migrants through language classes which use nationalism as a tool. To maximise the chance of success, the State must use the tools to best manage the job. It would be a fruitless task to attempt to integrate migrants through a flawed and heavily disputed methodology. Such is the importance of nationalism, theorists have exhausted a great deal of energy in defining, explaining and debating its meaning. Hall (1993:1)

claimed that “no single, universal theory of nationalism is possible. As the historical record is diverse, so too must be our concepts”, and perhaps therefore, despite its nationalism, has long been a forgotten part of “mainstream social theory” (Day and Thompson 2004:1).

Historically, Taras (2002:3) states that groups and individuals have always had “a feeling of nationality”, and that this ultimately led to “the birth of nationalism”. Nationalism can be described as the loyal and conscious belief in a single nation, which Pecora (2001:6) describes as a force which “overrides” all other thoughts. For Couture et al. (1996:11) the development of nationalism is dependent upon the “intensity of personal exchanges on a given territory” (Couture et al. 1996:11), and for Griffiths and Vadura (2013:559) results in “exalt[ing] one nation above all others”. One focus of this thesis is on how the government seeks to ensure migrants exalt the United Kingdom above all other nations, including their former home. This chapter will outline the theoretical basis of nationalism as a tool used by the British government to “develop [ESOL] learner knowledge of life in the UK; [and] support application for citizenship” (Home Office 2010:v), but also assess this against the types of nationalism which exist in the areas of migrant origin.

Dominant theories given by Smith (1986, 1991, 1999), Gellner (1964, 1983, 1993) and Anderson (1983) focus upon what Gellner describes as “high culture”, which is the type of nationalism attempted to be replicated by the State through the structures and institutions of society. State institutions have the overarching responsibility for policy and have a clear input into the UK popular culture through the mainstream media outlets. These theorists place the emphasis on varying parts of government

policy. For Gellner (1993), standardised education plays a prominent role in the shaping of national identity and supporting the nationalist agenda. Whereas Smith (1986:32) provides a historic approach which centres on the importance of a nation's 'shared history', others have placed language and contemporary factors such as the media and print capitalism at the heart of nationalism and as the building blocks of nationhood. This chapter will argue that these theories are central to the government's strategy for promoting migrant integration in society and thereby securing constant national renewal.

This chapter will outline the relevant theories of the nation and nationalism, followed by an overview of nationalism in areas where some migrants originate. Specifically, Africa, the Arab states and Eastern Europe.

Creating the Nation

Simply, the nation is separate to the State. Whereas the State relates to the organisation of a political community under a single government (Oxford Dictionary 2016), the nation is somewhat more problematic. When defining the nation, it might be as easy to select each key element of theories and combine them.

The idea of nations is one which has challenged both social and political theorists alike. Renan (1882:5), asked "What is a Nation?" - a question which continues to baffle and challenge academics within the social science community. Authors such as Augustine (1960:287, cited by Pecora 2001:1) state that "if no one asks me, I know; if I want to explain it to someone who does ask me, I do not know". The nation requires no territorial boundary; its area and membership cannot be easily defined. All people living within an area and subject to the same government are subjects of a State.

A nation need not always be defined by the boundaries of a State; a loose example of the Kurdish people living across Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria is a topical example of this. Connor (1978:300) takes a broad approach, theorising that "a nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a…", attempting to highlight the difficulty with the intangible nature of a nation.

It is clear, however that a nation has its own requirements before it can exist. It is the definition of a nation which is so frequently disputed, but one that "none of us can avoid" (Fevre and Thompson 1999:32).

When breaking down the use of the term 'nation', Reicher and Hopkins (2001:11) explain that the route word "natio" was used in Ancient Rome as the Latin word for "communities of foreigners", distinguishing them from Roman citizens. In contemporary usage, there has been a solar change from this explanation.

For Smith (1993) and Couture et al (1993:6), the nation is "a 'legacy of remembrances", which focuses as much, if not more, on the past than it does on the future. Smith (1993) states each nation has its specific "ethnic origin", but that these alone do not ensure that the nation is a historic entity. In its most basic term, this "legacy of remembrances" (Couture et al 1993:6), is embodied within the nation. For Croucher (1998:646) this legacy can take several forms including "a potent sense of community and shared consciousness" (Weber 1948 and Anderson 1983, cited by Dedaic 2015:6); a "sense of community [which] often reaches far back in historical memory and relies on symbols and myth" (Smith 1999), and that "governing elites

play a central role in shaping this sense of community" (Anderson 1983, Brubaker et al. 1992 and Breuilly 1993).

A key debate concerns whether there are 'objective' criteria for nationhood at all – and whether the nation is an objective entity. For Stalin (1913, cited by Hutchinson and Smith 1994:20-21), "a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture". There are theorists who dispute this, such as Blackledge (2009:40) who theorises that "nation-states are not founded on 'objective' criteria, such as the possession of a single language". Instead, Blackledge (2009) argues they must be 'imagined' as communities" (Anderson 1983, Billig 1995).

There are differences between the approach of both Gellner (1983) and Smith (1999), which are also broadly the differences between several conflicting theorists' views. Gellner claims that the "nations themselves, are products of modern historical development" (1983, cited by Day and Thompson 2004:41). However, Smith (1999) disputes this, tracing the nation back to "ethnic communities in antiquity and the middle ages", but despite the familiarities with what we believe to be nations in the modern period, these communities cannot be seen to be nations (Smith 1998, cited by Day and Thompson 2004:64). These "ethnies" have "shared ancestry, myths, histories and cultures" (Smith 1998:320). The historic ethnies conform to Smith's (1998) idea that nations are "a community of history and destiny" (Ichijo and Uzelac 2006:89), but as Rousseau (1754-72, cited by Pecora 2001:164) states, "there were no Egyptian citizens, any more than there were Chinese citizens", and thus there

were no nations. For migrants, this analogy causes a dilemma, as their cultural history is often different to that of their new country of residence.

This dilemma causes specific difficulties for Smith (1999:3), who theorises that the "memories and symbols of the nation command such widespread loyalty and devotion", but that nations themselves are "elements of nature, or the divine plan, not just of history". By his use of "divine" language (Smith 1999:3), the nation takes on an almost religious quality. This religious elevation of the nation is reflected by Renan (1882) who describes the worship of ancestors as a part of the historic make-up of the nation, and Anderson (1983 cited by Day and Thompson 2004:89) giving the nation a "strength and near-sacred character previously attached to … churches". Interestingly, when considering the advent of dual-citizenship, the religious importance of the State would be on the same emotional terms as syncretism for any migrant seeking British citizenship while retaining another.

The difficulty for migrants has been amplified since the proliferation of media and news from the countries of origin through the internet and worldwide media. Although globalisation has clearly been a longstanding feature of societies across the globe, this has greatly increased with the availability of technology. On a local level, both Billig (1995) and Giddens (1990, 1991) theorise that as global influences filter through to communities, it has a corrosive effect by the emergence of a global culture. These global influences may be from the country of origin for migrants or could well be the impact of other influences. Guibernau (1996, cited by Croucher 2003:83-84) believes that with a "shared history, culture and values might arguably be described as building a nation of Europeans". In addition, Guibernau (1996:114)

states that “the engineers of the new Europe will have to look at ‘common European trends’ and design a myth of origin, rewrite history, invent traditions, rituals, and symbols that will create a new identity”.

This is an important point for the continuation and success of a nation. Like Smith (1998), Guibernau (1996) emphasises the importance of myth, history, traditions and symbols. For Guibernau (1996), these can be equally as effective when invented as when factual.

The next section of this chapter examines the theoretical and practical requirements for nationalism which, Gellner (1983) argues, is the basis of the nation.

Nationalism: A Theoretical Approach

An overview of the nation provides the framework for nationalism to thrive. This section will examine the broad theories of nationalism, with specific reference to those practised within the ESOL classroom. The role of education in nationalism has been long established, with Gellner (1964, 1983, 1994) leading the debate on the connection between nationalism, education and integration in society. The creation of a standardised education system is a cornerstone of his theory in the replication of culture and continuing industrial advancement. The argument made by Gellner (1983) takes a state-centric view of this, with the élite or government curriculum being taught, rather than what the learner feels they need to know. This is due to what Gellner describes as the “pervasive high cultures”, whereby individuals can now only live in a “shared culture” which he directly relates to the standardisation of literacy and education-based communication (1983:54-55).

The “shared culture” (Gellner 1983: 54-55) is similarly referred to by Anderson (1983) as an ‘imagined community’, with the proliferation of mass printing texts through not only what he describes as ‘print capitalism’ allowing individuals to read books with common ideas and histories, but also through the mass media hearing news and opinion which shapes the national conscience. Anderson (1983) concedes that even in the smallest country, it is not possible to know all people within the nation; therefore, for a cohesive nation to occur, individuals must form similar ideals and a general feeling of belonging. Like Gellner (1983), Anderson (1983) believes that the governing élites and intellectuals are central to this sense of belonging (Croucher 2003), and like Gellner (1983) also views this as a modern concept. Anderson (1983) gives reference to a perfect storm towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, which saw the decline of language and religion, along with the proliferation of cultural displays through print-capitalism and museums which culminated in the definition of a “nation as an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 1983:6). It is the governing élite who then shape this nation through the use of maps, which define the limited boundaries of a nation, but also museums which tell a prevailing story of a nation’s history. Bayer (2010:110) describes Anderson’s (1983) theory as relying upon “secularisation and the rise of print capitalism”.

There is divergence, however, as to where the respective theorists place ‘the state’ in this process. For Gellner (1983) the state emphasises the need to have an industrialised society, with those who at one time would not have contributed meaningfully to society taking up important work through the industrialisation of a

nation, the catalyst for this change being the mass education system. For Anderson (1983) however, it was a literary imagination of the nation. The concept of each person reading the same information in books, texts and latterly the media, allows an individual to *imagine* others replicating the same activity across the country. This is reiterated by Ozkrimli (2000:147) who argues that everyday activity, such as reading a newspaper, is "a mass ceremony ... [which the citizen] is well aware ... is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet whose identity he has not the slightest notion".

Neither Gellner (1964, 1983, 1994) or Anderson (1983) envisage nationalism as a historic concept. As Gellner theorised, nationalism "is not the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force", as "it is in reality the consequence of … education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state". Also, like Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983) relies upon "a high degree of cultural standardization" (Croucher 2003:13), which is solely the relish of the government or State élite to produce. In terms of ESOL teaching, this directly refers to the curriculum and material guide developed by the State to establish standardised classroom education and teaching materials.

This modernist approach somewhat differs to that of Smith (1991,1998) who puts forward the argument that nations emerging from ethnic communities are a longstanding feature of society, or as Griffin (1999:153) claims, nations "invoke a historic past which stretches into the mists of time". For Smith (1999), the tradition is based upon the myths, memories and traditions of an ethnic group or '*ethnie'*, allowing one ethnic group to distinguish itself from another. Like Gellner (1983) and the idea of State generated curriculum and teaching materials, Smith (1991, 1998) is

concerned with the idea of 'high culture', whereby the élite and intellectuals retain responsibility for the production of an official culture.

In contrast to Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1983), Smith (1998) hints that there are no hard and fast rules for nationalism. There are, for example, no specific types of symbols which a nation would naturally adopt. Equally, Smith (1998) accepts that each nation is different with respect to its resources and so cultural elements must offer both credibility and be plausible (Edensor 2002:8). Therefore, with no clear vision for symbolism or myth it is clear that opposing groups within a nation would sanctify differing symbols. Re-enforcing the historic view, the reliance upon historic roots has little use for globalisation. In fact, the importance of shared heritage for Smith (1998) requires "the qualities of collective faith, dignity, and hope" which enforces Renan's (1882) view that historic events and in particular 'sacrifice' is a strong tool for concreting popular support. For migrants, however, this could often be difficult to achieve, not only with reference to differing histories, myths and symbols, but also if there is a colonial connection to the UK it may cause further conflict.

Billig (1995), in his theory of 'banal' nationalism, believes culture and society is developed and maintained by everyday occurrences. Unlike Smith (1998), Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1983) place the emphasis on the state and élite by providing a top down approach to nationalism; Billig provides a clearer picture of interaction on a local level. The theory of banal nationalism has become associated with the "unwaved flag" as a symbol of the nation in the realm of everyday life and national symbols being replicated through both official and unofficial channels (Billig

1995:41). Wales, the siting of this research, is a known example of this type of nationalism through patriotism in both sport and the use of dragons, daffodils and leeks in the celebration of national events including St David's Day, national sporting events and often on a commercial basis with many companies and organisations using Welsh symbolism for greater identity and attraction. Interestingly, Billig (1995) also makes a case for everyday language playing a key role in the production of societal familiarity, which Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) stated, "is grounded in the habitual assumptions about belonging". Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) claims that language is used heavily to give a feeling of belonging; "'the' economy, government, countryside is *our* economy, government, countryside". The individual is made to feel a part of society through the introduction of inclusive language in both the printed and televised media.

In support of this, Kushner (1977:59 cited by Bayar 2010:111) claims the importance of language is well affirmed; for the Ottoman Empire "their prime concern was social rather than nationalist; not Turkification of the language, but its elevation to an all-purpose medium of literature and writing". Bayar (2010:112) claimed "when the language question was taken up in the immediate aftermath of the establishment of the Grand National Assembly, the link between language and nationhood was firmly and directly laid out", whereas for the Ottoman Empire it was considered that "language was … an instrument connecting the people to the political elite/state". Bayar (2010:113) continued that "language was seen as a vehicle to bring the people's aspirations and goals in line with those of the elite", although to achieve the goal of a strong nation states a "language devoid of foreign elements was essential". Gellner (1983, cited by Blattberg 2006:2) supports the "need for a people with a

homogenous language and culture", which is supported by Bayar (2010:111) who believes that "homogeneity would be one of the defining characteristics of … [a] new nation".

Nationalism: Development and Approach

Many of the mainstream theories of nationalism have centred upon the history, myths and symbols. For migrants, however, the European experience is problematic. Whereas the similarities between the development of a unifying governance and the promotion of nationalism are clear, geographically there are regional factors which effect how widely these issues are felt.

In an African context, Rotberg (1966:33) found discussing nationalism on the continent difficult, stating that there were "few [African] nations in the classical European cultural, linguistic, or religious sense, and since few now exist in such terms, how can we write and speak of nationalism?", although he found that "Africans generally agree that they have experienced nationalism; they know the tree of nationalism when they see it and have tasted some, at least, of its fruits". Like Gellner (1983:55), who found that it was "nationalism which engenders the nation, not the other way around", Rotberg (1966:34) argued that in Western Europe "Monarchs hardly conjured nations from nothing. As the power of the centralised state grew, it both fed upon and nurtured the parallel growth of linguistic and cultural unity. Monarchs conscripted, taxed, and educated their subjects. Such actions assisted the spread of an often already existing vernacular while encouraging a new appreciation of the national culture". This expansion of language and wider understanding of national culture came through the standardisation of education

which brought about a social and economic change (Gellner 1983, Anderson 1991). However, this Western European understanding of nationalism can "blur our understanding of the older Latin American and more recent Middle Eastern and Asian revolutions and, if we let ourselves become carried away by their seeming good sense, the definitions also obscure the meaning of the African experience" (Rotberg 1966:34). Instead it is claimed that "by their very presence, the alien powers (and conceptually, being alien is more important than being western or European) made the indigenous 'national' more conscious than before that they were one people", specifically without colonial rule "there might have been no African nationalism" as "were it not so often denied, there would be little point in stating the obvious - that the colonial powers alone created the basis of the present nations of independent Africa by arbitrarily dividing the continent into administrative entities and imposing thereupon imported legal, linguistics, and cultural concepts" (Rotberg 1966:34).

In the realms of African nationalism, the recognition of similarities with ethnic kin combined with an imported culture led to a population which "eventually asserted themselves with a patriotic fervour that made real the possibility of national self-determination". For Rotberg (1966:39) the self-determination came despite the dominant common culture belonging to an alien nation, but in doing so the native inhabitants "manifested extreme anti-European attitudes, which were, in the best tradition, anti-establishment. One could label their feelings racialism, xenophobia, anti-Europeanism, Africanism, or patriotism". The strength of African nationalism came therefore through the rejection and contempt of European culture and through xenophobia, its people". This is supported by Chidzero (1960:466) who found that

"African nationalism is nothing more nor less than the rejection of colonial control, race domination, and discrimination". In addition to the broad cultural changes sought by African nationalism, there was resistance to "the European policies of Partnership, Multi-Racialism, Assimilado etc." In contrast to these principles, African nationalists chose to embrace what they saw as anti-colonial policies, where "the most important of these are majority rule and the quality of individuals regardless of race", which was a stark contrast to their experience of European policies on much of the African continent.

For Arabs, nationalism is "defined by an anticolonial ethos and the glorification of origins and history in the face of Western dominance experienced by Arab countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Esposito 2003:1). Krieger (2004:1) balances this view, believing that "the concept of Arab nationalism has been invoked by Arab monarchs as well as revolutionists; pro-Westerners and anti-Westerners; advocates of secularism and exponents of religions; capitalists and socialists; democrats and dictators. In fact, it has been put to so many contradictory uses that its meaning is far from clear".

For Efraim and Karsh (1996:367) Arab nationalism centres upon "a single nation bound by the common ties of language, religion and history", which has clear similarities to those priorities given by Gellner (1983), Smith (1998) and Anderson (1983). These "common ties" were, however, to cover "a single Arab Nation" with claims that "the Arab Nation both is, and should be, one". Therefore "the individual Arab states are deviant and transient entities; their frontiers illusory; their rulers interim caretakers or obstacles to be removed" (Efraim and Karsh 1996:367).

Written in the mid-nineteen nineties, Efraim and Karsh (1996:367) argue that "despite a century of sustained intellectual and political efforts, Arab nationalism has made precious little headway towards its ultimate goal of unifying the 'Arab nation'". This remains the case, although the 2011 Arab Spring demonstrated that there is a unity in what Brownlee et al (2013:29) describe as the "Arab World". The uprisings featured a move from autocracy to democracy and were a story of limited success for some, but ultimately "remains one of disappointment and defeat". During this period of unique change there was little drive towards a united singular Arab state, although it was certainly an awakening among Arab nations with the move towards democracy. For Arab nationalists, however, the divides between countries which the Arab Spring made clear, is a reminder of its colonial past, where "the Arab world had been divided up, rather arbitrarily, into a number of colonial states". With this, Krieger (2004:2) claims, the Europeans "made every effort to split up and isolate the nationalists", thus there has been a continued mistrust of European powers who historically so separated the Arab world into nearly two dozen individual states and curtailed attempts to create a nationalist movement.

The resistance to historic colonialism and politics was not isolated to Africa, featuring in the backgrounds of many countries and continents which were also subject to Eastern European influences.

The work of Brubaker et al. (2006:239) provided the authoritative work on nationalism in the Romanian city of Cluj, not only important for its input on ethnicity in Eastern Europe, but more so for their findings on nationalism and belonging in a diversely populated city.

The history of the city is significant, having found itself under the control of Austria, Hungary, Austria-Hungary before returning to Romania. For Brubaker et al. (2006:23) "the resurgence of nationalist contention … can only be understood historically". Indeed these factors have led to the ethnic mix of an estimated 76% ethnic Romanian to 23% Hungarian, and that Cluj continues to be, as it has been throughout its history, central in the Romanian nationalist movement (Stroschein 2012). There are two factors within this city which are relevant to this study. First are the methods the Romanian state seeks to promote their nationalist methods. The second is the relationship between the minority Hungarian population, the state and the populous.

Brubaker et al. (2006:239) theorises that within the mixed demographic of the city, "ethnocultural nationality is defined in the first instance by language". In short "language is the decisive criterion of ethnic-national belonging", becoming "an important vehicle for everyday ethnicity".

The everyday language for Hungarians in Cluj is Romanian. Brubaker et al. (2006:170) believes "speaking Hungarian is a marked practice in Cluj, while speaking Romanian – the "default" language – is unmarked", although conversely "there is, however, a Hungarian "world" in Cluj, within which the linguistic signs are reversed, making Romanian the marked, and Hungarian the unmarked or default language".

Despite the history of Cluj, there are few Romanians who are bilingual with Hungarian, but it remains the case that most Hungarians retain their bilingual skill. According to Brubaker et al. (2006:240) this position reverses throughout the history of Cluj; "when Hungary ruled Transylvania, and Hungarians comprised the large majority of the town's inhabitants, the asymmetry was reversed: then, almost all Romanians in town knew Hungarian, while virtually no Hungarians knew Romanian".

The role of language in the lives of Cluj residents reflects this balance, as "most Hungarians in Cluj speak Romanian reasonably well, many very well; in some contexts, (typically those associated with work), many Hungarians speak Romanian more fluently than Hungarian". However, it remains the case that "in the sphere of family and friendship, the great majority of Hungarians - including those who carry on their work lives largely or exclusively in Romanian - feel much more comfortable speaking Hungarian" (Brubaker et al. 2006:241). For Brubaker et al. (2006:241) this can be attributed to the "ease and comfort involved in speaking one's native language and the unease or discomfort often felt in speaking a language which is not "one's own", as this "is central to Hungarians' experience of ethnicity".

The importance of language to the Hungarian population is also identified by a Romanian participant in the Brubaker et al. (2006:246) study, who stated that "A middle-aged worker complained that her Hungarian co-workers had spoken Hungarian with her when she began working in the early 1980s, and had suggested that she should learn Hungarian, "This was the first thing when I started working there. […] So I said I'll learn Hungarian when the sign says 'Hungary', not

'Romania'. Until then, they can't make me" … 'Speak Romanian, we're in Romania'". This was further discussed as part of a Romanian focus group where a participant said "no matter how much you want to deny it, it sometimes pisses you off, you know, when they talk to each other in Hungarian on the bus"; however, in another focus group with Hungarians, it is countered that "what bothers me is that, say, I'm out with friends and, say, we're on the street or in a bus, or on vacation, and then naturally I speak Hungarian and not Romanian because that wouldn't make any sense at all, and then someone comes and asks me why I'm speaking Hungarian, and tells me to speak Romanian".

The importance placed on language in terms of ethnicity and within society is further identified by Connor (1994:43) where the unrest among the population of Ukraine "is popularly reported as an attempt to preserve the Ukrainian language against Russian inroads". It is conceded by Connor (1994:44) that "national identity may survive substantial alterations in language … nevertheless, not only do those involved in an ethnic dispute tend to express themselves in their own national consciousness in terms of tangible symbols, but they also tend to express their aversion to the other nation in terms of ostensibly readily identifiable attributes". As these attributes are often easy to identify, Connor (1994:46) believes that "an individual (or an entire ethnic group) can shed all of the overt cultural manifestations customarily attributed to his ethnic group and yet maintain his fundamental identity as a member of that nation." Importantly he states "cultural assimilation need not mean psychological assimilation" (Conner 1994:46). Blackledge (2006:62) identifies "cultural practices which are different from those of the dominant group, and they become symbols of the 'otherness' of the minority".

Conclusion

Among theorists, the difficulty in defining a nation is clear. The Oxford Dictionary may attempt, but this is simplistic and lacks a full understanding of the features of what a nation entails. As Connor (1978:300) put it "a nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a …". The difficulty in its definition creates an equally disputed theory of how a nation is built. The constructs of nation building given by Croucher (2003) are argued by separate theorists, although that isn't to say that each example of nation building can't involve a part of each construct. Stalin (1913) cited by Hutchinson and Smith 1994:20-21) and Guibernau (1996) describe many features including shared culture, language and history which are relevant to both nationalism and establishing the nation, demonstrating how they are irreparably linked. Much like the idea of the nation being an almost religious dedication to some, the idea of syncretism is used to describe the belief in different religions which may include contradictory beliefs. Similarly, the basis for nation building need not require any one theory to conclusively explain its occurrence. For instance, it is argued that the proposed sense of community theorised by Weber (1948) and Anderson (1983) does not necessarily occur in isolation of the historic memory, symbols and myths of a nation which Smith (1999) addressed. This is the basis of John Hall's (1993:1) argument that no single theory of nationalism is possible, so in promoting nationalism, the state must consider the application of multiple nationalism theories.

Gellner (1983) presents a modernist view believing that a unified culture and industrial advancement gave rise to nationalism. For this to be successful, Gellner (1983) argues that a shared language taught through a standardised education system is required. This not only lays the foundations for a shared identity, but also for the

nation to grow through the application of a growing educated workforce. Like Gellner (1983), Anderson (1983) also considers nations as a modern entity, believing nations arose with the advent of a common language. For Anderson (1991) this was primarily through 'print capitalism' but through whichever medium, language is key. This need for a common language previously discussed in Anderson's (1983) work, which first describes the theory of an 'imagined community'. The traditional example used to illustrate the imagined community is 'reading a newspaper', and once again demonstrates a reliance on language. Disputing this, Blackledge (2009:40) argues "it is not sufficient to say that speakers of the same language belong to the same nation-state. This common-sense understanding of the relationship between language and the nation ignores the diversity and variety of the language(s) spoken within many state….even the notion of a single 'English language is an over-simplification". Even when discussing Smith (1998), who denounces a modernist view, believing that nations are historic and the culmination of shared memory and myth, a common and shared language perpetuates to carry the myth and memory through the 'mists of time'. The theories place language at the heart of both nationalism and the creation of the nation. From this base, education, myths, a shared identity and imagined community can be built to enshrine nationalism. Any attempts to progress and promote nationalism would therefore begin with language and standardised education.

This is further supported when the application of nationalism is considered; it becomes clear that the European model for nationalism and nation building has become a feature of the landscape for countries across continents which have a shared history of colonialism. It is therefore unsurprising that Rotberg (1966:34)

makes specific reference to the importance of both “linguistic and cultural unity” for a nation, which directly relates to the theories put forward by Anderson (1983) and Smith (1999). Furthermore, Rotberg (1966:34) makes reference to ensuring that citizens were “educated” as another key ingredient, which refers to the latter claim of Gellner (1983) in support of a standardised education system.

The findings of Efraim and Karsh (1996:367) similarly suggest the importance of “language, religion and history” for nationalism in Arab countries, although this has had limited success in creating a united Arab state. This is a common link between the nationalism experience for Arabs, Africans and the European theorists. However, this also creates barriers for migrants from these countries. For those who experience nationalism for their home country, their new country will be competing on similar terms. This is further complicated with the findings of Rotberg (1966:39), who described African nationalism as having “manifested extreme anti-European attitudes … One could label their feelings racialism” and that “The strength of African nationalism came therefore through the rejection and contempt of European culture and through xenophobia, its people".

Attempts to use traditional nationalism alone could prove to be unlikely and, instead, be met with some resistance.

From these conclusions, there are two arguments which are key to this thesis. The first is the importance of both language and education to the creation of the nation. This is linked to the prominent role they play in theories of nationalism. This is outlined by the theories of Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1983), and also through the

findings of Rotberg (1966) and Efraim and Karsh (1996). Furthermore, the study of Brubaker et al. (2006) evidences the importance of language, culture and symbolism.

The years of fieldwork study and methodology adopted by Brubaker et al. (2006), with specific interest in language and nationalism, show that the findings provide an authoritative comparator for this thesis. Although the sole focus of this thesis is not on nationalism, it is a key part of the argument which relates to both what is important to minority and native ethnic groups, and also how the state attempts to integrate ethnic groups in a city with a significant history of migration.

The second argument is that of symbolism and elements of banal nationalism (Billig 1995). The first element of banal nationalism proposed by Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) relates, once again, to language. However, the second element relates to symbolism employed by 'the state'. For Smith (1999) these symbols are often an association with historic myths and reminders of a shared history.

The fieldwork of Brubaker et al. (2006) considered alongside the works of Gellner (1983), Anderson (1983), Billig (1995) and Smith (1999) gives a core of requirements for nationalism. Although conflicting in their approaches, this thesis will argue that each of these elements is employed by 'the state' to instill Britishness in migrants. Of particular note from the outset of this thesis is the link between the importance of standardised education (Gellner 1983) and a common language (Anderson 1983, Gellner 1983); combined, these are the basis of ESOL classes. This chapter has described the methods of nationalism which establish, support and renew the nation. This has included a focus on standardised education and the importance

of language. It is argued that because of the importance of nationalism to national renewal and belonging, it is the foundation of immigration policy. The following chapter will provide an overview of the UK immigration policy and examine the international approach to immigration policy.

2. National Themes for Immigration Policy

The previous chapter examined the theories of nationalism and nationhood, theorising that the international context for nationalism has a significant impact on discussions of migration and integration. When discussing international movement of people and the attempts to integrate new arrivals into society, it is impossible to consider the legislative background in isolation. As people move across national borders, the trends of immigration policies also cross borders and the discussion of integration within nation states has impacted upon language education (Extra et al 2009:13).

Shohamy (2007:119) theorises that "in countries with centralised educational systems decisions regarding language policies are made by central authorities….[as] the policies serve as the arm for carrying out national language policy agendas".
These legislative policies of language learning in ESOL classes form a part of a "de-facto language policy", which also includes language education, language testing, use of language in the public sphere and ideology, myths, propaganda in society (Shohamy 2007:121).

Shaw (2002) introduced the UK naturalisation and citizenship policy by first examining the international policy context, which demonstrates the similarities between countries in the western world when formulating a citizenship and language acquisition policy. Although this research focuses on the British context, it is likely that many of these findings could also be applied to a wider context. This chapter will outline the British policy approach, and give a context to its development and application.

United Kingdom Immigration Policy

Although in vogue, citizenship education is not a new phenomenon. From the start of nations, importance of allegiance and loyalty to the Crown, state and kin were enforced through the requirement of individual private Acts of Parliament. Bourdieu (2000, cited by Blackledge 2009:39) describes this process as the "reproduction of social reality through its legislative process".

Since the 18th century the act of earning citizenship developed, but it was the 19th century, which bought forward the legislation, formally awarding citizenship through meeting specific requirements. Through this process, Blackledge (2009:40) believes that "the state has the power to distribute identities, through setting criteria for the award of certificates which bring benefits and privileges, for example the award of citizenship, the reward of the right of stay for refugees". However, Blackledge (2009:40) continues, "at the same time the State has the power to set criteria for the award of certificates which are exclusionary".

The first legislative framework for naturalisation came through the Aliens Act 1844, which required applicants to pray for the grant of citizenship, providing their basic details such as age, profession, length of residency in the UK and grounds for seeking naturalisation. This gave the first rights to migrants including certain types of property ownership.

From this early form of citizenship, 17 Acts and Regulations have been produced to define and redefine applications to citizenship. The early legislative change

included the ability to revoke British citizenship, but also the legislation increased the rights of spouses and children born overseas to British parents. It wasn't until the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914 that knowledge of the English Language became a formal requirement of becoming a British subject. Blackledge (2009:40) claims that "it is 'self-evident' that people who do not speak the majority language impoverish the nation, so laws are required to ensure that they learn to use the dominant language, or to prevent their naturalisation as citizens". Furthermore, in an American environment there are "narratives about 'being' and 'becoming' American with a focus on the role of standard English in the process (Bigler 1996, Pablenko 2001a, Villenas 2001, cited by Blackledge 2009:42).

This language requirement was strengthened by the British Nationality Act 1948 which outlined clear pathways to citizenship being introduced, including citizenship by birth, by descent, by registration, and critically by naturalisation. Although previous Acts made naturalisation a route to citizenship, including the 1844 Aliens Act it was the 1948 Act which first introduced the need for 5 years' residence, good character, intentions for residence or employment and sufficient knowledge of the English language.

Simpson (2016:9) argues that language, and specifically ESOL, developed through large scale immigration during the 1950s. The passing of The British Nationality Act 1981 required all applicants for citizenship to have knowledge of English, Scots Gaelic or Welsh, giving equal weight to all native British languages. Blackledge (2006:74) claims that although the 1981 Act required this knowledge of English, "the certificate has a symbolic role in the manifestation of the State's power to ratify

or invalidate the apparently arbitrary and vaguely determined 'command of English'". Within each of these Acts it was required that applicants had "sufficient knowledge of the English language" Home Office (2002:33), and it was not until the 2002 White Paper 'Secure Borders, Save Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain' that the government required proof of this knowledge.

Up to that point, the sufficient knowledge of English Language was untested and "not really enforced in practice" (Home Office 2002:33). Simpson (2016:5) states that "monolinguist policies appeal to, and resonate with everyday understandings of the importance of a standard language as a unifying 'glue for a nation'". This need for a 'glue' outlined by Simpson (2016) gains traction when considered in the context of the 2002 watershed moment in the UK naturalisation policy. Arising, in part, from the "racial tensions [that] had resulted in extensive civil disturbances in some northern towns over the summer … [which] were reported to be due to a lack of community cohesion arising from racial divisions and social exclusion" (Home Office 2010:10).

The White Paper claimed that the lack of knowledge about British society and the English language left many current and prospective citizens on the periphery of society resulting in "social exclusion" and also "contribute to problems of polarisation between communities" (Home Office 2002:32). Therefore, a greater emphasis was placed on establishing "a sense of civic identify and shared values" while also maintaining the English language requirement (Home Office 2002:32). Although, as previously stated, Blunkett (2002:7, cited by Blackledge 2006:76), has consistently disputed the direct link between language fluency and the riots. It was

claimed by Blackledge (2006:76) that language could therefore be indirectly related, which is supported by Cantle (2002:p.i, cited by Blackledge 2006:71) who stated that "whilst respect for different cultures is vital, it will also be essential to agree some common elements of 'nationhood'". Importantly, he defines the "key issues" as "language and law". In response to the report's findings, the Home Office (2002:11, cited by Blackledge 2006:73) announced an intention "to offer language teaching and light touch education for citizenship for those making a home in the UK", with Blunkett (2002:6, cited by Blackledge 2006:76) reinforcing this by stating "an active concept of citizenship can articulate shared ground between diverse communities". This shared ground, it is argued, refers to "the rights and responsibilities of each community", with particular emphasis on "language and law" (Blackledge 2006:73). Blackledge (2006:73) argues that for some, "a failure or refusal to become proficient in English threatens democracy", making language acquisition a priority for the State. The policy aim is to encourage full participation from all members of society and built on a foundation of language to understand law, society, culture and current affairs.

This was not the beginning of ESOL, as the 2002 White Paper explains, language classes were well established and provided free of charge education to those with no or limited knowledge of the English language. This did see the introduction of ESOL with a link to citizenship acquisition. The 2002 White Paper proposed that the free of charge provision be expanded to encompass those who were joining spouses, in addition to those who were settling or already settled independently within the UK. Alongside the strengthening of the ESOL provision was an introduction of an ESOL core curriculum. The curriculum, which was introduced prior to the White Paper was

designed to give "context-free" minimum requirements for ESOL classes, to be underpinned by "learning programmes in a specific citizenship context", meaning that "suitable materials will be available to provide information about British society and the rights and responsibilities of becoming a British citizen" (Home Office 2002:33). A split in responsibility was also introduced, with the Home Office responsible for citizenship and what is now Department for Business, Innovation and Skills being responsible for the core curriculum.

The 2002 Act marked a decisive change in the way the government viewed the process of citizenship within the UK, the previous regime of citizenship being something posted through the mail and few checks on everyday language ability was considered to be out of step with the expectations of the general populous. The requirement for knowledge of life in the UK, was a stark change, and highly controversial. When formulating ESOL policy, David Blunkett said that he "believed understanding English played an 'important and central part…in developing good community and race relations'" as "it improved the chances of obtaining both education and employment" (Shaw 2002:17). David Blunkett also said that "a political community can require new members to learn about its basic procedures and fundamental values…that is why I believe we need to educate new migrants in citizenship and help them develop an understanding of our language, democracy and culture" (Blunkett 2002, cited by Shaw 2002:18), cumulatively expressed as a "basic knowledge of our society" (Blunkett 2002, cited by Shaw 2002:20). It is argued by Blackledge (2009:41) that "the linking of language, literacy, and national identity happens in a number of sites which include language planning, standardisation, educational policy, citizenship testing, and language instruction for immigrants".

Blunkett (2002, cited by Blackledge 2009:196, Shaw 2002) made the link between citizenship, language and better employability, claiming that "citizenship should be about shared participation, from the neighbourhood to national elections. This is why we must strive to connect people from different backgrounds, tackle segregation, and overcome mutual hostility and ignorance. Of course, one factor in this is the ability of new migrants to speak English – otherwise they cannot get good jobs, or share in wider social debate".

Shaw (2002:22), writing for the Parliamentary Library, details the submissions from groups regarding the proposed 2002 changes. The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants believed that:

> "The White Paper dedicated its discussion on citizenship and nationality on a sense of failure arising from the disturbances in the summer of 2001 in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. It refers to reports that 'signalled the need to foster and renew the fabric of our communities' … As we understand the position, the disturbance involved people who in the main already possessed British citizenship by virtue of their birth in the UK." (Shaw 2002:22)

This was echoed by The Muslim News who found that:

> "The Home Office identified a lack of common values or a shared civic identity as one of the reasons behind the disturbances of last summer. Yet it is hard to imagine anger and frustration at the lack of civic values on the streets of Bradford was the cause of the anger displayed by the White and Asian youth, it is more likely that material consideration featured higher up on their list of priorities: unemployment, lack of proper housing and racial and religious discrimination. So for the current generation of young people living in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, this document holds out little promise."

The role of the society at large was identified by the Refugee Council who responded to the Home Office consultation by with the view that "people will only feel that they are able to participate meaningfully in society if they are welcomed and valued".

In addition to their statement relating to the riots, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants was concerned with the combination of citizenship, English language and learning about life in the UK: "if there is intrinsic value in promoting great facility in English which is measured in terms of better-paid employment etc., then this should be pursued as an end in itself for all people settled in the UK without reference to their intentions regarding citizenship. It would be counterproductive to coerce people into taking important decisions on enrolment on language courses; far more will be gained by leaving such issues to the voluntary will of each individual".

The issue of coercion was also made by the Immigration Law Practitioners' Association who stated that "Most people want to learn English without need of coercion, but the language requirement cannot fairly be enforced, let alone extended to those applying for citizenship on the basis of three years' residence and marriage if that is indeed what is intended …" (Shaw 2002:33).

English for Speakers of Other Languages was therefore seen as a tool for dual purpose. For the Home Office, the riots in the northern towns were, at least in part, a result of fractured communities with minority groups marginalised and prevented from fully participating in their communities and in British society. For newcomers or those seeking citizenship, the ability to demonstrate, and dedication to the UK, played a primary role for ESOL to be a route to citizenship. However, as highlighted by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, much of the disorder during the riots was by those who had been in the UK for a long period, or were descendants of migrants. The Daily Mail highlighted this point in 2012 with an article headline of "Second and third generation migrants struggle to understand even basic instructions

in English", with evidence taken from a Cambridge ESOL exam board research report (Daily Mail 2012:1). Despite this, even in an international context, citizenship has always been seen as a link to national renewal. For Sandman (2008:10) the significant numbers of new citizens each year led US President Woodrow Wilson to exclaim that it "is the only country which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth".

In 2013, the link between ESOL and British citizenship changed with applicants needing to also take the Life in the UK test, alongside other applicants who had no English language needs. For non-English speaking applicants, progression up to at least Entry 3 was still required. Mark Harper, Minister for Immigration stated that "British citizenship is a privilege, not a right. The government expects that those wishing to become citizens should demonstrate their commitment by learning the English language, as well as having an understanding of British history, culture and traditions … we are toughening up language requirements for naturalisation and settlement to ensure that migrants are ready and able to integrate into British society". (Harper 2013).

With the accession of The British Nationality (General) (Amendment No. 2) Regulations 2015 Schedule 2A, Graded Examination in Spoken English replaced ESOL as a "recognised English language test". This test forms part of the 'Knowledge of Language and Life in the UK' requirement of citizenship.

The Learning and Work Institute described the change as "an opportunity for ESOL providers, as it reduces the amount of "onerous" requirements. Furthermore, the Institute states "Will Citizenship content in ESOL lessons become a thing of the

past? Unlikely. Linking language with civic capability has long been a feature of effective ESOL provision".

The policy of ESOL forming an intrinsic part of citizenship irreparably changed in 2015, but the importance of language in citizenship remained. Despite the change, ESOL is still an expanding provision in the UK with Demos (2014, cited for Action for ESOL 2016) stating there are 700,000 migrants in the UK with English language needs.

The policy of the UK to create a curriculum for learning language denotes a significant investment in the view that language is a key to migrants integrating, but also the materials used and guidance given to ESOL centres promote the ideals of nationalism, as discussed later in this thesis. The UK using these methods of promoting migrant integration in society is not individual, with other countries using similar or identical methods as part of their immigration policies (Extra et al. 2009).

3. English for Speakers of Other Languages

Windsor and Healey (2006:1) began their book '*Developing ESOL, supporting achievement'* by contextualising ESOL as "the systematic development of English language skills with adults whose first language is not English and who are living and using English in the UK". Trinity ESOL (2016), who administered the qualification at the ESOL centre featured in this fieldwork, explain that there are five ESOL levels, "each of which is an individual qualification in its own right". Furthermore, the "qualifications are for people aged 16 and over who live in the UK and need English for everyday life and for work" (Trinity ESOL 2016). The five levels of the ESOL qualification are as follows:

- Entry 1
- Entry 2
- Entry 3
- Level 1
- Level 2

With Level 2 being the highest ESOL qualification available, the classes are separated into three awards:

- Speaking and Listening
- Reading
- Writing

With an overarching qualification at each level being the "ESOL Skills for Life Certificate", this requires a pass for each subject area (Trinity ESOL 2016).

Although separated across three awards, Wallace (2006:75) identifies these as "the 'four language skills'", which draws "strongly on the framework provided by the British National Literacy Strategy for schools". The importance of regulatory frameworks with the ESOL qualification is highlighted by Extra et al. (2009:17), with the view that "CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for languages) defines levels of language proficiency that allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning", with a "natural recognition of language qualifications". The use of the CEFR framework is used "as a tool" in many European countries, ensuring recognition for achievement across the continent (Extra et al. 2009:17).

Since 2002, ESOL education has been split across the Home Office and the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. The Home Office held responsibility for matters related to the acquisition of citizenship and ensures that citizenship requirements are reflected within the ESOL classroom. The role of Department for Business, Innovation and Skills was to implement the ESOL core curriculum which details the specific linguistic requirements of an ESOL course.

Providers of ESOL qualifications needed to meet the requirements of the Home Office and produce a course guide and qualifications which were based on the ESOL core curriculum. The Home Office requirement that the materials used within the classroom reflect life in the UK played a dual role. The first clearly was to ensure that learners were able to demonstrate an understanding of life in the UK, but also it was important for learners who were not eligible or seeking citizenship to gain an understanding of British society, institutions and how to live and work in the UK. In

achieving this, ESOL met s.1 to 4 of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 which aimed "to provide prospective new citizens with practical help to facilitate their integration" (Home Office 2002:1).

This chapter will provide an overview of ESOL testing, explanation of ESOL funding followed by a description of ESOL learner's barriers and aspirations, as found by other researchers in the field of ESOL education.

Testing for English for Speakers of Other Languages

Context

It has been argued that language is intrinsic to the success of migrants settling in the UK, but also is the "glue" which binds a cohesive society (Simpson 2016:5). This is not isolated to the UK, with Extra et al (2009:14) stating that despite national differences, language tests and courses are becoming a feature of many European countries. For the acquisition of citizenship, and latterly to demonstrate a level of English language ability, language testing has been at the centre of ESOL education since 2002. Each element of the Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening classes rely on both verbal and written tests to demonstrate a competence from Entry 1 through to Level 2.

For many migrants, the link between ESOL and citizenship has meant that there is a strong incentive to achieve. As Simpson (2016) outlined, for many migrants the ability to speak English is seen as the solution to "all the problems one faces as a migrant". A change in legislation has changed the link between citizenship and ESOL; these arguments were not only relevant at the time of the fieldwork

undertaken as part of this research but also with the subsequent secure English language qualifications for citizenship.

Classroom application

Trinity ESOL (2016:10) state that examinations are "contemporary and learner-centred, focusing on practical and communicative English language skills", however many have been critical of ESOL testing. These tests are not only a demonstration of English language ability, but are "connected and embedded in political, social and educational contexts" (Shohamy 2007:117). Within these contexts, the aim of the tests is to affect a change in learner's behaviour, and promote the inclusive agenda of the State to ensure "everyone…[is] able to take a full and active part in British society (Home Office 2002:34, cited by Blackledge 2006:75).

Shohamy (2007:122) argues that "tests of national and official languages are given priority in national tests to perpetuate the languages' high status within the hierarchy of languages", establishing the desire for English to be the dominant language in British society. Therefore, it is claimed that the State's "assimilative agendas" works to suppress and eliminate the unique nature of minority groups, by giving little value to linguistic distinctiveness (Shohamy 2007:123). As with the findings of Blackledge (2006:65), this agenda of assimilation through language learning is a demonstration of the "symbolic power of the State". This is further described as "cohesive" by Blackledge (2005:84, citing Bourdieu 1998b, Shaw 2002:33) as it gives legitimacy to English language and culture, and "rejects all other languages into indignity", also supported by Castles (2005:312, cited by Blackledge 2005:66). The reason for this, Blackledge (2006:62) claims, is that "language practices, cultural traits, traditions and customs come to represent 'race'".

Blackledge (2009:52) expands this argument by explaining that "where language testing for citizenship is introduced, a new gate-keeping mechanism comes into play, potentially preventing a group of willing residents from participating in democratic process, and from accessing their rights". Blackledge (2005:53) provides the generalised advantages for migrants of greater employability, greater social inclusion and economic stability, alongside the native populous feeling more secure through better communication and benefiting from greater social inclusiveness. Regarding inclusiveness, Blackledge (2009:530) describes the view that language acquisition will result in greater employability and social integration as "naïve and simplistic". This correlates with the findings of Simpson (2016:5) that language success results in "all the problems one faces…[being] solved". In contrast to this, Blackledge (2009:53) also states that for some, rather than inclusive, it would be a "punitive" process with a "learn the language or else", which further enshrines the image of ESOL as a "gatekeeping mechanism".

McNamara and Shohamy (2008:89) further this argument, believing "language tests are increasingly being used to control the entry of immigrants and refugees and their subsequent access to social participation". This balances the argument that language testing and acquisition encourages participation, by placing these tests in a context where they "enforce conformity" and thereby "being used to control the entry of immigrants and refugees and their subsequent access to social participation" (McNamara and Shohamy 2008:89-90). In using language testing to permit or prevent social participation, the idea of 'gatekeeping' described by Blackledge (2009:53) is reinforced.

In making it a gatekeeper, the ESOL tests are "more powerful than any written policy document" as they are the practical embodiment of "the elimination and suppression of certain languages in society" (Shohamy 2007:120). This highlights the importance of the ESOL and the recognition through language testing it gave when linked to citizenship, but also subsequently through the wider access to society it gives. The ability for migrants to access these classes given the recent changes to ESOL funding is outlined in the next section.

Finance and Funding

The issue of funding is amongst the most contentiously debated issue within the field of ESOL. The authority for ESOL funding is separated out for the constituent areas of the UK, including where this study is based, Wales. This separation is seen both as a gift and a curse, but depends greatly on the area in which you live, and what your status in the UK is at the time you enrol on an ESOL course.

Under the New Labour government, Paget and Stevenson (2014:38) state that funding has tripled between 2001 and 2008 totalling "£300 million" as "national enrolments rose (between 2001 and 2006) from around 150,000 to 500,000". This expansion of provision came as a response to "ESOL provision[s] … [were] extended to many who needed it, with relaxed eligibility criteria" (Paget and Stevenson 2014:38).

With the increasing cost of ESOL provision combined with this relaxation of eligibility, a review of tuition fees in 2007 suggested a restriction in eligibility for fee remission. The funding report found that fee remission was commonplace in all examples where asylum seekers and those who had been granted refugee status had

been resident for 3 years or more. From the inclusion of ESOL has part of the citizenship and integration drive of 2003, the numbers of learners on the course has increased, meaning not only have providers have struggled to keep up with demand, but also that the cost incurred by the government(s) during this time has also risen dramatically.

This sheer increase in ESOL footfall since that time has shocked even the most forward thinking economist and ESOL professional. The funding pressures have been further enhanced by the economic changes and recession which have plagued the global economy.

The removal of funding for those who are not on active benefits means that those who are not actively seeking work or on a working benefit, will need to pay for their ESOL classes. For home students, the cost per year for a full-time course like the one in this research is £500 for a home student or £3600 for non-home students (Portsmouth College 2016). This cost does not account for the daily costs of car parking, childcare, public transport, food, drink, stationery and consumables, in addition to the extracurricular activities. These extra-curricular activities are a priority of the policy to engage and stimulate the learners to take an interest not only in the environment around them, but in the culture and history of which they are now a part.

The expenditure of either £500 or £3600 could prevent, or at least disrupt the ability for students to experience this educational activity. The end of funding for ESOL for all those except the migrants on active benefits is predicted to primarily affect

women, specifically those paying for childcare, making additional costs unaffordable. This argument was made by the Moore (2011) whose headline read "'Women affected most' by English language funding cuts", this being evidenced by 68% of ESOL learners nationwide being women. This issue has been at the centre of the funding argument, with media outlets describing it as a measure which could prevent migrant women actively participating in open society (Moore 2011). Additionally, a significant percentage of migrant women can also face cultural barriers to participation in ESOL through the attitudes of those around them (Casey 2016:107).

This creates problems for social integration, which was strongly argued by the Prime Minister, David Cameron who authored an article in The Times. In this article, it was described that "we'll make sure every woman from isolated communities with no English at all has access to classes, whether through community groups or further education colleges" (Cameron 2016:1).

The nature of his statement attracted significant criticism, particularly in the Spectator (Ashworth 2016:1) which asked "If Cameron wants female migrants to learn English, why did he cut ESOL funding?". In this article, Jon Ashworth (2016:1), Labour MP for Leicester South, stated that the government report on ESOL cuts "showed clearly that the changes to ESOL would have a greater impact on women, and that a reduction in ESOL provision could leave women isolated within their communities". Furthermore, it is stated that "Since 2009 the overall Adult Skills budget that funds ESOL has been reduced by 35 percent which has led to a drop in overall ESOL participation by 22 percent since the Tories took power.

80 percent of ESOL providers have seen waiting lists rise to up to 1,000 students. I cannot see how women…will be able to integrate into British society if the best opportunity for them to do so has been taken away" (Ashworth 2016).

The statements made by Ashworth (2016) were echoed by groups such as Action for ESOL, but also other media outlets including the Telegraph who asked "Are David Cameron's English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?" (Bennett and Dodds 2016). These concerns were echoed by Casey (2016:169), recommending that the Government needed to make "sufficient funding available for community-based English language classes".

For Wales, the funding from the Welsh Government makes up roughly 60 per cent of a centre's funding, although this obviously can differ greatly depending on the centre and its learners. The remaining 40 per cent of the funding needs to be found from other sources. Organisations such as FE colleges can charge for ESOL courses, but this can often influence the funding from the Welsh Assembly. Therefore, to keep the cost to the migrant free other organisations often provide funding. In doing so however, the FE college would risk losing funding the following year as it would be deemed able to sustain courses without public funding. The ESOL organisations can reach over 20 in number, and gives the impression of patchwork funding, meaning each pound needs to be sought out.

The main providers for funding of ESOL students come through NASS benefits, employment benefits, and paid work. They are supported by numerous organisations, such as the Refugee Council (Welsh Refugee Council in Wales) which until recently

funded ESOL and other language classes such as IELTS in partnership with other institutions.

This section has examined the funding position for ESOL, with the introduction of course fees in England and funding cuts to the ESOL sector being one of the most contentious issues currently being discussed.

Politicians and academics alike have voiced concerns that female learners and vulnerable adults are likely to be adversely affected by this change. Although as recently as January 2016, the Prime Minister David Cameron made overtures for ensuring women had full access to language classes, the financial impact has created an environment of uncertainty. Although a significant issue, funding is not the only barrier which exists for ESOL learners. The next section of this chapter considers these barriers, highlighting the potential impact they may have on successful migrant integration.

Barriers to Learning

The study of ESOL is as much about the life of the learner inside the classroom as it is about their personal lives. Simpson (2016:4), believes that "How adult students engage with English outside class, in the broader sociolinguistic setting, is relevant for teachers…Approaches to language teaching generally should encompass a concern with students' needs". This also includes "recognising the complexities inherent in students' daily lives", which are discussed in this part of the chapter.

The Casey report (2016:168) advocates for classes to tackle these cultural barriers to support both employment and integration. The findings of Hashem (2009:1) describe

cultural barriers found within a group of Bangladeshi learners seeking to improve their English. These cultural findings were described in terms of gender, differentiating between those experienced by men and women both within and outside the classroom. Hashem (2009) evidenced women having "'below average' or 'poor' levels of English" prior to their migration to the UK which arose from their "low participation rates in education back home". Although examining English classes in New Zealand, Danaher (2014:2) gave similar findings in that migrants were hampered by a "lack of prior experience, cultural factors and ages", but also that "many refugees have an identified literacy problem, which could impact on their ability to succeed". For Hashem (2009:1) this is further exacerbated by the "constraints on their time, childcare and family responsibilities, and the domestic duties of running a household". The issue of childcare was also highlighted by a 35-female learner; "I am a lonely parent with two kids. It is hard to take care of them…ESOL could be improved, if they would provide childcare or a school for my daughter (Phillimore (2010:16). Similarly, these findings were supported by the KPMG (2005:8) who found "significant family commitments that would interfere with their attendance". Due to these commitments, Hashem (2009:1) found that "it was important to women that ESOL classes were held close to their homes or within their local neighbourhood".

Simpson (2016:8) found two thirds of learners cited in his research were female, with their experiences differing significantly from their male counterparts. Before researching the ESOL classroom, Simpson (2016) identifies human trafficking, forced prostitution and significant changes in the traditional family pattern during migration as barriers pre-ESOL, and a lack of childcare as "a particularly acute

problem for women wishing to raise young children and attend regular full-time ESOL classes", resulting in a prolonged "piecemeal" education.

Pattar (2010:8) documents the experience of a female migrant with 30 years living in the UK who stated "I wanted to learn English and get a job but my husband didn't want me to go out by myself…he said that I didn't need to learn English…it will bring shame on the family if I go to work". The result of this barrier was a total dependency upon her husband who "did everything". Additional support was also required from a son who she relied on to translate at doctors' appointments resulting in that feeling that "all that help crippled me" (Pattar 2010:8). In addition to the personal restrictions evidenced, familiarly dependency also impacted upon her family with the son having "to miss school" meaning he "did not get a good job" due to his commitment to supporting the family language requirements. Contrasting between life before and after English classes, a participant stated "All people looked like aliens to me…life here felt like being in prison", whereas "now, I speak English and can talk to other people" (Pattar 2010:9).

For male migrants, however, Hashem (2009:1) found that men felt "overstretched [by] time commitments, family responsibilities and work duties". The need to balance the multiple draws on migrants included the limited financial position of a male 21-year-old migrant who stated "I was receiving £32 per week and that was for my food and other costs" (Phillimore et al. 2010:16). This was further an issue for a male migrant aged 27 who found that "life was very difficult with £30 which they were giving us. You have to buy books, pens, clothes and food. That £30 was not even enough for food … [I gave up English course, because] I decided to work and

earn money by myself instead of receiving from the government, because we couldn't survive with it" (Phillimore et al. 2010:17). However, the ability to earn is limited by migration status. The status had a further impact on learners, one describing "I was given one year leave to remain and that has been already ended. However, I have no response from the Home Office for more than a year. I don't know what is going to happen to me. That became a kind of trauma to me" (Phillimore et al. 2010:17). Simpson (2016:4) supports this finding, stating "some learners experience fear, isolation and a feeling of disadvantage or incompleteness". Specifically he identifies that "institutions such as government employment offices, welfare offices and banks loom large in the lives of linguistic minority people, and students' interactions in English can be coloured by miscommunication, hostility and sometimes racism".

There were also barriers that transcended gender. The issue of racism was described by two migrants interviewed by Pattar (2010:13), with the first explaining "Where I lived before, people didn't like us…shouted at me and my children and many times said, 'go back to where you belong', I was very scared; some days did not go out of the house. I prayed to Allah for my children's safety". The second migrant interviewed explained "It was like living in hell…whenever we went out the teenage boys called us names, made fun of our language, sometimes they blocked our way to our flat. When made complaints to their parents, they ignored…then we decided to move near my auntie" (Pattar 2010:13).

Blackledge (2006:61) establishes that is it not only "white supremacist ideologies of race, or only of aggressive, overt, or blatant discriminatory acts" which are migrants'

experiences of racism. It is further stated that "Racism also involves 'the everyday', mundane, negative opinions, attitudes and ideologies and the seemingly subtle acts and conditions of discrimination against minorities" (van Dijk 1993:5, cited by Blackledge 2006:61). For Blackledge (2006:65), there is a difference in how these opinions, attitudes and ideologies are given, with a distinction between "when a discriminatory argument is made in the local pub or post office queue, [as] it is a discourse which has a life". However, it is further claimed that "when discriminatory discourse is uttered in a speech in the Houses of Parliament, is it reported, restated, and transformed in new contexts and genres, gaining new life and often, new authority".

In 2001, Ann Cryer, the MP for Keighley gave a speech to the House of Commons on the integration of migrants in British society. Analysing the speech, Blackledge (2006:69) suggests that it is possible to provide "a kind of 'common sense' logic to support her argument", even when the claims are "little more than a list of apparently connected factors" which relate to the violence rioters and that some children of second language English speakers "frequently get…off to a slow start, which can damage their progress and mean that they leave school with few, if any qualifications. Many cannot get paid work or find only poorly paid jobs". By extension of this Blackledge (2006:65) states that "the legal authority of the State is ultimately manifested in new legislation which extends the Home Secretary's powers to discriminate against British citizenship applicants on the basis of their English language proficiency". The way in which this proficiency is tested has been discussed previously in this chapter.

There is, therefore, a clear issue of societal acceptance. The experience of migrants being marginalised by the populous not only diminishes the desire for migrants to integrate or learn English; for some it also prevents integration by migrants who retreat to their homes and communities which are viewed as safe.

The issue is not limited by direct experience of migrants with the proliferation of media reporting on issues of racism. However, Blackledge (2009:47) claims that this is "not the preserve of extremist groups. Rather, argues van Dijk, it is produced and reproduced in the political, educational and media discourses of elite groups".

Furthermore, the communities in which migrants reside are often close-knit and migrants of similar ethnic backgrounds tend to live close-by wherever possible. Blackledge believes that "racial groups are just as much 'imagined communities' as are linguistic groups", and therefore instances of racism play more than a casual role in the segregation of migrant communities in society, which stems from both fear and mistrust.

In addition to the social and societal barriers, Phillimore et al. (2010) identifies difficulties surrounding ESOL provision. A 27-year-old explained "I had to wait for six months so that I can be accepted for English", an issue which was collaborated by a 21-year-old male learner who describes that "one year I was waiting for the course [sic]" (Phillimore et al. 2010:16). Once in the provision it was found that the number of hours offered was often lower than required by the learner; "in some cases as low as two hours per week. Some of the respondents mentioned how difficult it was to learn with such limited tuition" (Phillimore et al. 2010:18).

Phillimore et al. (2010:18) also interviewed ESOL tutors to understand the teaching staff insight into barriers. Tutors found that the training for teaching staff was often challenging as ESOL providers did not support course attendance (Phillimore et al. 2010:18). Furthermore, tutors found the use of native languages within the classroom limited English language acquisition, with a learner stating "the most of my class mates are from Arabic countries and they speak in Arabic in the class instead of English. That is a big problem for us to practice our English, our teacher tries to tell them not to speak other languages" (Phillimore et al 2010:18).

The barriers to integration continued thus far within this chapter describe the issues faced by learners seeking to improve their English language skills, with an aim to make a life within the UK. The significance of these barriers varies. Experiences of racism, funding cuts as well as personal circumstances are likely to significantly undermine the efforts of the State to integrate migrants and encourage participation in society. In addition to this goal, learners themselves often engage with language classes to achieve their own aspirations. Evidence drawn from literature about ESOL learner aspirations will be discussed in the next section.

Aspirations of ESOL learners

A key motivator for students of all subjects is the focus on a course outcome and future aspiration. Simpson (2016:5) believes that there are two common assumptions relating to ESOL. Firstly, "literacy in the standard variety is a pre-requisite for daily life and is the route to a successful future", and secondly "that once competence in the language has been achieved, all the problems one faces as a migrant will be

solved". With the State making language policy intertwined with policy on immigration and citizenship, it has successfully ensured English is viewed "as the only acceptable language of the public sphere" (Ricento 2003, cited by Simpson 2016:5).

Although the intertwined nature of ESOL and citizenship was weakened through Sch. 2A of The British Nationality (General) (Amendment No. 2) Regulations 2015, the purpose of ESOL classes remains, with Hashem (2009:1) stating "the introduction of the citizenship test did not impact significantly on the motivations for learning English". Therefore, the removal of the citizenship link is unlikely to impact significantly on learner numbers. For men, the key motivators found by Hashem (2009:1) were both "gaining employment and improving their employability prospects". Pattar (2010:11) also found employment was important for women, with one explaining "I want to learn English and I also want to work in Sainsbury's, it's my dream … because my husband works there … after two years I want to be a manager … if I learn English properly and I change my mind to be a teaching assistant, I will be a teaching assistant". Importantly, language ability is used to differentiate between two career paths. This distinction is also made by Simpson (2016:7) who found that some ESOL students started classes as they had "worked in jobs which required little from them by way of literacy" but now when job seeking have found that "they are facing new demands from potential employers…That is, even menial jobs now entail employees having to negotiate written texts".

Pattar (2010:12) found that for one participant's recent UK arrival, language ability was highly prized, given prevalence above both cultural and family pressure; "My

husband was very strict and did not allow me to go out to learn or to work, but I am very ambitious and believe that women have the same rights as men and should have the same freedom as me. I had to start from the beginner level and now I can speak fluent and correct English and have my qualifications to prove it". Cooke (2006:63):62-63) details a female learner who was a nurse in her home country. The learner has a similar desire within the UK and wishes to "stand on her own two feet", but is also driven by "her sense of obligation as an immigrant (she is scathing of people who migrate to England and refuse to work) and above all else her desire to become a member of her 'imagined future community'"; therefore "her main aim is to get a job as a nurse with the national health service (NHS) as she knows there is a skills shortage and she has many years of specialist experience". To be able to achieve this goal, Cooke (2006:63) believes that there is a need first to improve her English. Simpson (2016:8) highlights that a return to a similar professional position is not always easy, as many "tend to be employed below their professional level and may remain in this position for years to come".

Employability is described by Simpson (2016:8) as "one of the most pressing reasons learners invest in English". For many, their employment expectation is based on their "qualities and attributes", which Simpson (2016:8) claims would "normally give them status in society; however, "finding that their cultural capital has less value than it had at home can have an impact on their social identity" (Simpson and Cooke 2010).

This was also a feature of the research by Cooke (2006:64), where the respondents described experiences such as "he will never be considered for the job because…he

will never be given the chance to prove his skills in a way which does not involve an interview"; "she desperately wishes to get a better job which pays her more money (she imagines this job will be working in a factory of some kind, perhaps as a packer)" and the final respondent who explained "He feels ashamed that he is young and healthy and fit for work, but has spent the last 5 years as a "househusband" due to his status as an asylum seeker (Cooke 2006 64-68). Phillimore et al (2010:18) describes some of these experiences as "a vicious circle emerged whereby those who could not speak English properly could not find a job".

The feeling of marginalisation by the last of Cooke's (2006:68) case studies was also felt by women who "were fearful of becoming isolated and dependent" and therefore were concerned with "accessing statutory services, healthcare provision and for supporting their children's educational progress" (Pattar 2010:11). Phillimore et al. (2010:28) found that ESOL classes met the needs of these aspirations. One respondent had "gained lots of experience in ESOL in terms of understanding UK culture and other newcomers' culture", which was supported by a further respondent who stated "I have received lots of things from that course about life here, about the law and order and about UK constitution and a lot of other things". Irrespective of the increased understanding and knowledge of the UK which comes from ESOL, Simpson (2016:8) believes that "ESOL practice addresses the interactional demands of events such as job interviews only imperfectly", which Roberts and Campbell (2006, cited by Simpson 2016:8) identify as "a major barrier to second language speakers and contribute to high levels of unemployment amongst linguistic minority people". Simpson (2016:10) follows this by stating these "high-stakes encounters

such as job interviews…requires…a deep knowledge of the language practices of modern interviews, which often they do not".

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the English for Speakers of Other Languages classes and its curriculum. The separation between ESOL levels, starting with Entry 1 and finishing at Level 2 takes a total of 5 years to complete, meaning it is a significant commitment for any learner starting at Entry 1 with no English language skills. Embedded within these classes are citizenship materials designed to provide learners with a greater level of understanding of British citizenship as each ESOL level is studied.

These citizenship materials were prepared through collaboration between the Home Office, Department for Education and Skills (now the Department for Business and Innovation), London Southbank University and Niace. The Learners' Pack provided the basic subjects to be covered within ESOL: Skills for Life classes and explains that other materials developed for use in the classroom should be derived from these subject areas.

The Learners' Pack introduces topic areas including citizenship, democracy and law, providing an insight into British values and society. The Learners Pack is designed to assist learners in gaining an understanding of life in the UK and increase their integration in British society. However, it is argued that for the State, the Learner Pack is designed to invoke a feeling of nationalism by instilling a common language through a standardised education system with materials containing constructs of nationalism theories.

However, this chapter further outlines the barriers for learners seeking to engage with ESOL classes. These include matters relating to funding, racism, family pressures and personal circumstances. These barriers will be considered alongside the findings of the fieldwork undertaken as part of this thesis. In addition to these barriers, this chapter has also identified the aspirations of migrants wanting to study ESOL which, like the barriers, will be used alongside the findings of the fieldwork.

The methodology adopted to undertake the empirical research for this thesis will be explained in the following chapter.

4. Research Methodology

Thus far, this thesis has argued that the State adopts the constructs of nationalism to encourage migrant integration in British society. The vehicle for this encouragement is the teaching materials in ESOL classes and the method is through the standardisation of education and promotion of a common language.

The need for this integration has arisen from a need to tackle the underlying causes of the 2001 Oldham riots, which exposed an underlying tension in many UK cities between the native population and settle migrant groups. These marginalised and disenfranchised groups sought to highlight the "parallel lives" which many experienced (Moore 2011:1). Some fifteen years after these riots, the BBC (2016:1) explain that many of the proposed changes following the riots have not been made. The reports into the riots found a hardcore of individuals settled in the UK, but isolated by a lack of language proficiency and cultural understanding (Cantle 2001).

The Home Office response, led by Home Secretary David Blunkett, was to establish and promote ESOL classes as a route to citizenship. The qualification, ESOL: Skills for Life, sought to increase knowledge of English language alongside developing an understanding of British culture and ethnicity. In achieving language proficiency and gaining this greater understanding of society, it was hoped that citizenship and integration in society would follow. Although the link to citizenship has been removed, ESOL remains central to meeting the linguistic and cultural information needs of migrants.

To this point, this thesis has provided an overview of nationalism, but also introduced British and international policies to integration and citizenship. This has provided the theoretical and legislative background to the thesis and has included an introduction to ESOL and the barriers and aspiration of migrants and ESOL learners. Research by Simpson (2016), Simpson and Cooke (2008, 2010) Cooke (2006), Roberts et al. (2004) have all explored the aspirations of ESOL learners, but few have examined the context of the State's attempts to promote greater integration or the value of the ESOL qualification, particularly since the separation of ESOL from citizenship. In resolving its objectives, this thesis provides a top down as well as bottom up approach, with evidence gathered from both ESOL learners and the Home Secretary when ESOL policy was made. In part, this was chosen following a review of the process as outlined by Shohamy (2007:121) who demonstrated the relationship between ideology, mechanism and practice. In adopting this approach, this research differs from other research previously outlined in this this which has predominantly focused almost exclusively on the practice of ESOL in the classroom. The topic of the research was developed through discussion with professional colleagues, visits to the ESOL centre and an examination of the available literature.

The aim of this research is to establish the extent to which ESOL is a route to integration in society. The three associated objectives of this research are 'to examine ESOL course materials to understand whether they promote integration in society'; 'understand whether the ESOL Skills for Life qualification is worthwhile for learners' and 'identify whether the experiences of ESOL learners support greater integration in society'. A mixed methodological approach was adopted which centred on a year-long ethnographic study of a Level 2 ESOL class.

Researching the ESOL Environment, an ethnographic approach

At the centre of this research is a year-long ethnographic study within Level 2 ESOL classes. For Bryman (2012:432) ethnography is when an "ethnographer immerses him or herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behavior, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, asking questions". The use of multiple data collection tools alongside ethnography is further described by Brubaker et al. (2006:284), who stated that the inclusion of "interviews and group discussions" can strengthen a methodology. The addition of multiple research methods is encouraged by Bryman (2012:432) explaining that the ethnographer should be

- "immersed in a social setting for an extended period"
- making "regular observations of the behaviors of members of that setting"
- listening to and engaging in conversations
- "interviewing informants on issues that are not directly amenable to observation or that the ethnographer is unclear about"
- collecting documents about the group
- developing "an understanding of the culture of the group and people's behavior within the context of that culture"
- writing-up "a detailed account of that setting"

The suitability of ethnography in policy research is described by Gains (2011:156) as putting "the people back in to...analysis of policy-making", involving "deep emersion" in the field. To achieve this, the ethnographer observed the participants, learning "about context and content, meaning and action, structures and actors". By setting out with core questions which needed answering, ethnography supports the

act of discovering data and making theory (Atkinson 2010:163). The ethnographic data therefore forms the largest primary research data set.

Access

Bryman (2012:433) explains that access is "one of the key and yet most difficult steps in ethnography", as it requires "gaining access to a social setting that is relevant to the research problem in which you are interested in". From the outset, it was clear that an overt approach would be required, and given The College environment I was planning to attend, it would be difficult to gain the level of access in this 'closed' environment, without making clear the type of research being undertaken. This followed a review of the methodological approaches of Atkinson (1981) and Burgess (1983, 1987), who were cited by Bryman (2012:434) as being ethnographers within educational establishments.

Following a meeting with Dr. Andrew Thompson, the Head of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of South Wales, it was decided to approach an FE College offering full time ESOL provision. Contact was made with the Head of ESOL and a subsequent meeting was arranged. Given the vulnerability of some learners and apprehension from staff it was agreed that full disclosure of the aims and methods of the research would be given and regular meetings with staff would be held to discuss any concerns. A formal proposal was written to the senior management team at The College requesting access to a full-time Level 2 ESOL class for an academic year. The Level 2 class was chosen following discussions with the Head of ESOL as it was felt they had the greatest understanding of English to provide informed consent, but also it was the year in which greater numbers applied

for citizenship. This indicated an interest in citizenship and that the learners within this ESOL level were more likely to be able to give an insight into their whole ESOL careers and their future aspirations. An overview of the research questions and the objectives were included in the request, as was the opportunity for the ESOL centre and/or its staff and learners to withdraw at any time. This was approved on condition of anonymity for The College, its staff and learners, which was granted. Agreement was given by the Senior Management at The College and final confirmation was given for the study to begin at the induction and assessment day at The College in 2011.

During the fieldwork, I was provided with privileged access to staff meetings, meetings with external organisations and working group meetings with ESOL learners. This high level of access provided keen insight into the workings of ESOL, not only in this centre, but across the region. I also attended fieldwork trips, meetings between staff and learners and class meetings with just learners present. Although data was collected throughout these visits, only those checked and relevant have been included within this thesis. The level of participation within The College environment is outlined in the following section.

Data Collection and Participation

The role assumed for the ethnographic study could be defined as a "participating observer" (Bryman 2012:442), as there was a core level of participation and involvement by attending each ESOL specific class with the learners and sitting with them in the classroom. Although I was with the learners and would speak with them throughout the day regarding work, I did not actively participate in class discussions,

presentations or teaching. The only time my position within the classroom was seen to be more active was when a substitute teacher told me that my English was "very good". Although the teacher was informed by The College that a researcher was in the classroom, she had not identified me as being that person. This was quickly resolved.

From the outset, there was some concern by the learners, seeing my role as one of authority given that I was from a University. During the first week, I participated in 'ice-breaker' sessions organised by the ESOL teaching staff, where greater details were shared with the learners along with explaining to them that "I am not a teacher, I am here to learn from you".

A key part of this learning process was to record what was occurring within the classroom environment. Two methods of data collection were adopted, maintaining a fieldwork diary and recording the classroom environment using a digital audio recorder.

The fieldwork diary was used overtly within the classroom to record details of exchanges, classroom topics, dates and times, as well as any details of high importance. In addition, I used a to diary to record "personal reflections" including my "own feelings about occasions and people", as suggested by Bryman (2012:447). Although Bryman (2012:447) explains the importance of making "copious amounts of notes", I was further aware of the view that "wandering around with a notebook and pencil in hand and scribbling notes down on a continuous basis runs the risk of making people self-conscious" (Bryman 2012:448). With this considered, while

building a relationship with learners, the fieldwork diary was only completed outside of classes, with the digital recorder being the main source of data. As I became more accepted within the fieldwork, I completed the diary within the classroom. Dependent upon the classroom environment, these notes were often jotted notes, used to "jog one's memory", but when possible "full field notes" were taken to ensure that the information was compiled as quickly and freshly as possible (Bryman 2012:250). During the initial fieldwork period, as throughout the year, digital recordings of the classrooms were taken.

As explained in the introduction to ethnography above, there are several additional elements of ethnography which ensure the greatest level of high quality information is produced. A part of this is the need to collect documentation from The College during the year. This effort to gather relevant documents through the year came in three parts;

- Worksheets and handouts from the ESOL lessons. These were taken from Speaking and Listening, Reading and Writing classes as well as Communications and the BTEC in Vocational Studies.
- Written work undertaken by ESOL learners during the year, specifically work related to their opinions of ESOL, their personal lives, learning barriers and future aspirations.
- Documentation on ESOL funding, future strategy and past issues. These were provided through staff meetings and discussions with senior managers

This documental evidence assisted in establishing independent information to refer to during the analysis of the findings, while also being a primary data source for the analysis of classroom topics. The in-depth level of access and attendance at the

College, combined with the intensive emotional pressures were identified as an issue of concern from the outset of planning the fieldwork. Emerson et al. (1995:145) described a process in which ethnographers become so deeply immersed in the field, the analysis of data "comes close to an act of betrayal". In turn this has led to some "set[ting] the project aside for years" (Emerson et al. 1995:145). The knowledge of this in itself reduces the possibility of it occurring, and regular contact was maintained with my supervision team throughout the year to ensure a professional distance was maintained.

As highlighted by Brubaker et al. (2006) and Bryman (2012), multiple research methods should be used alongside an ethnographic approach to strengthen the methodology. The following section will look at the additional qualitative and quantitative methods undertaken alongside the ethnographic fieldwork.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

Following a review of the required evidence and with reference to the section above, a mixed method approach to generate the required data was adopted. This section will outline the use of elite interviewing, focus groups and questionnaires. Specific mention will be made of the evidence gathered and why this information was required.

Elite Interview

The use of elite interviewing was selected following a review of relevant research; in addition the work of May (2001:120, cited by Lilleker 2003:208) suggests that elite interviews "yield rich insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings". This method was therefore adopted to

gain insight into the experiences, opinions, attitude and feelings of the former Home Secretary David Blunkett. As the Home Secretary responsible for the development and implementation of ESOL, David Blunkett is well placed to provide detailed and relevant insight, not only to the period of its development and introduction but also with the benefit of hindsight. This approach was supported by Richards (1996:200), who believes there are advantages of elite interviewing in the interpretation of documents, particularly "if you gain access to the authors responsible for putting together a relevant document or report", as this may "provide information not recorded elsewhere". This methodology is therefore well suited for evidence gathering from those involved in establishing ESOL policy and curriculum and supports the 'top down' approach to understand the reasons behind the ESOL policy development.

It is understood that there are limitations to this approach; specifically that some time has elapsed and his memory may not be as reliable as anticipated. It was also possible perspectives had changed, and that this may be an "attempt to rewrite history in their own favour" (Lilleker 2003:209). Therefore, the importance of understanding the documentary evidence available from the time is important to ensure accurate results are collected.

The content of the interview was taken down in note form, and Mr. Blunkett consented to being recorded using an electronic Dictaphone. A semi-structured interview structure was opted for. This was decided due to the degree of flexibility it provides whilst still ensuring the researcher maintains control of the process (Frankfort and Nachmias (2006). The interviews will also provide the mixture of

both “hard and some soft data” (Allan and Skinner 2002:172) and encompasses the “far subtler” information required (Bechhofer and Paterson 2000:63).

Other interview structures were considered. A structured interview would ensure that key questions are covered and that the topic has no opportunity to deviate from the research study. Although wide ranging deviation is not appropriate, some deviation may reveal information which was not previously known or considered, and as such would add value to the study. As this was a one-off interview, unstructured fluid interviews were also given great consideration. With thought given to the earlier consideration of rewriting history highlighted by Lilleker (2003), it was felt important to ensure that the interviewer maintained control of the interview. Therefore, the semi-structured interview was the preference. The limits of this method, such as the disorganised data semi-structured interviews provide, has been considered; however, the quality of information extracted as a result offsets this concern (Janowicz 1997).

The location of the interview required attention. Regard was given to telephone interviews due to the cost and time of travelling. However, the benefits of face to face interviewing could not be ignored and as such the interview took place at his parliamentary office in Sheffield. This paid great dividend as an informal discussion followed the interview which provided further insight into the policy area.

As mentioned, David Blunkett MP was selected for interview as he held the post of Home Secretary when the Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 was enacted and

Education Secretary when the groundwork for the policy was laid down in the late 1990s.

The questions asked of David Blunkett focused upon:

- The reasons for making ESOL an avenue to citizenship
- What the aims for ESOL were, and have these been achieved
- Is ESOL successful in aiding integration and promoting citizenship
- The successes and failures of ESOL
- The barriers and obstacles for learners and options to overcome these
- The role of ESOL lecturers in promoting integration and community cohesion
- Whether any changes are required in the current ESOL policy

The information from these interviews was assessed alongside the information gathered in the ethnographic fieldwork, but also documental evidence gathered during the literature review. The method for analysing the data is outlined later in this chapter. As this method provided data for the 'top down' element of the research, further methods were employed to detail the view from the grassroots up. The following section details how this was achieved through the use of focus groups.

Focus Group

The focus groups were chosen following careful consideration of the relevant literature. Dawson (2013:87) describes a focus group as a way to "gain a greater understanding of attitudes, opinions, beliefs, behavior and perceptions"; it also gives a "focus on interaction as part of the research data". The focus group relies upon "interaction within the group, based on topics that are supplied by the researcher" (Morgan 1997:2, cited by Hopkins 2007:530). Cronin (2001) recommends that focus group membership be limited to eight individuals, and this is supported by Cameron (2005) believes between six and ten individuals are required. Kitchen and Tate

(2001) support Cameron (2005), stating a maximum of ten participants should be used. Hopkins (2007:533) believes that the ten-participant maximum is due to the limitations in data collection, specifically being “unable to hear what was being said when transcribing “due to “people speaking at the same time”.

Although Dawson (2013:91) insists that a high quality recording device is required, due to the number of participants in the focus group I relied on in the findings of Spicker (2006:76) who found “tape recording in a group is difficult at best” and therefore “old fashioned note-taking works better”. Therefore, this method was used for both the student and staff focus groups.

A further consideration came from Strickland (1999:190) who identified potential issues with cultural differences, particularly with the roles and traditions of the participants. For this research, the majority of the learners have been in the same class together for more than three years, and the minimum amount of time being a year. There was therefore already a good relationship and level of trust between participants prior to the focus group being convened.

My research included 16 members in the fieldwork focus group, and due to the issues identified by Hopkins (2007), the focus group operated with the guidelines of an ESOL Speaking and Listening exam, meaning there was a flow of opinion with little overlapping of voices. In addition, the ESOL Speaking and Listening exam encourages all participants to equally provide opinion and actively encourages all members to participate.

Additional meetings took place throughout the year to discuss the role of ESOL for learners, but a formal focus group was held at the end of the year. This focus group asked students to discuss the positives and negatives of ESOL classes, whether ESOL prepares them for life in the UK, what their lives are like in the UK, and what improvements they would make to ESOL classes. This task was carried out previous to the Speaking and Listening, which requires equal input into a given topic and conversation, and as such, many students saw this focus group as good practice for the exam. The topics covered within the focus group addressed both research questions aforementioned.

A further focus group was undertaken with members of staff. The responses from these questions and supplementary questions provide data which will be used to answer the first research question.

Questionnaire Survey

As Dawson (2013:64) suggests, the use of a questionnaire can "generate statistics about a phenomenon that is observable", and in turn this informed the focus group questioning to gain clarification and explain "unexpected findings".

Due to the language abilities of the participants the questionnaire needed to be as short as possible, with clear language being used throughout. The use of jargon or misleading questions had to be avoided and the staff at The College were asked to check the language was appropriate; this was in an advisory role and no editing rights were granted. The questionnaire was piloted by specialist staff to ensure the survey could be used by a range of students at the various levels. It is notable however, is that no edits were requested.

It was accepted from the outset that the number of returns for questionnaires is often poor. This was discussed with The College. It was negotiated that the questionnaires would form part of the learners' reading and IT classes; this would ensure wide ranging responses from the learners in The College. A decision was made, however, to ensure the students were not pressured into answering and that the study was fully explained. The reason for this was the potential for false answers if there was pressure to respond.

The questionnaire asked for basic details, such as name and area of the city in which the learner resides, but also gained information relating to reason for migration, immigration status, length of time studying ESOL and amount of time spent socialising with native English speakers. The questionnaire also sought broad details for learner aspiration which was further explored during the fieldwork.

At the end of the fieldwork year the ESOL department arranged a graduation for the Level 2 learners in a local restaurant. I was invited to host the award ceremony and my sincere thanks was expressed to the staff and learners of The College.

Method of Analysis

The analysis of the data collected within the fieldwork was analysed using elements of grounded theory. Bryman (2012:568) found that the coding is "the key process in grounded theory, whereby data are broken down into component parts, which are given names". Strauss (1987:25, cited by Bryman 2012:568) states that this process is central to the process of reviewing both transcripts and field notes, through

constant revision of the data to reveal “potential indicators of concepts”, where the “many indicators (behavioural actions/events) are examined comparatively by the analyst who then “codes” them, naming them as indicators of a class or events/behavioural actions”. Within this research, a process of open coding was selected to co-ordinate “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing data (Strauss and Corbin 1990:61).

Research software was used to assist with the analysis of the datasets generated. The use of NVIVO came to assist in the process of coding, and organising the large datasets generated using nodes. It was understood that there were concerns that by introducing NVIVO software, a separation between the researcher and the data could occur. To counter this, it was ensured that the data inputting and themes that were generated were undertaken manually, rather than through the automating processes of NVIVO. This significantly slowed down the analysis of the data; however, it ensured that the broad themes and information generated were gathered.

In addition to this, software to assist in typing this thesis was used. Due to a disability which impacts on my ability to type for any significant period of time, DragonSoft was used to assist with this task. This caused some difficulty in developing a suitable language for use within a formal thesis, as well as the grammatical mistakes this provokes. However, given the necessity of this software, these drawbacks are known and accepted.

Information Governance

All the lessons with the learners were recorded using a digital Dictaphone, with all recordings being held on an encrypted hard drive. Fieldwork notes were also taken throughout, with all names and places anonymised. These methods of recording data were selected to ensure that I could "quote with confidence", but also identify themes when coding and understanding the environment in which the findings took place (Brubaker et al. 2006:384). For Dawson (2013:113) this also extended to "events, times, dates and places or methodological notes concerning your role".

Site of Research

During the initial stages of the research, it was necessary to decide upon the location of the fieldwork. It was decided to confine the primary fieldwork to a region in South Wales for three reasons. Firstly, the area has the highest ESOL learner population in Wales. Secondly, the Centre featured within the research is one of the largest ESOL centres within Wales. Thirdly, intake area for the Centre includes a large city which is comparable to other major UK cities including Manchester, Leicester, and Bradford; a flashpoint of the 2001 UK race riots.

Wallace (2006:75), whose research was focused on London, felt that "some of the issues raised… [in this study] will resonate with those working in other English speaking countries. Similarly, the use of a major, but smaller city, is comparable to the many other UK and international cities who have an increasing ESOL population.

Research Terminology

For the avoidance of doubt the terminology used throughout the research should be clarified. The terms *migrant* and *immigrant, refugee* and *asylum seeker* are often used interchangeably in literature. According to Chambers Dictionary (2014) the term *migrant* describes "changing one's abode to another country" and an *immigrant* as a person who "migrate(s) into a country with the intention of settling in it". According to the Migration Observatory at Oxford University, there is no significant difference in modern usage; however, *immigrant* is associated with a permanent residency and has a more significant stigma, whereas *migrant* is often given temporarily and therefore is a less stigmatised term. As such the term *migrant* or *learner* will be used in this research.

Further, the use of *refugee* and *asylum seeker* denotes a status within the UK, be it as a *refugee* escaping persecution or an *asylum seeker* awaiting the outcome of an asylum application (UNHCR 2012). Although the reason for coming to the UK is established in the dataset, the immigration status of the migrant is not pertinent to the research and is therefore not discussed.

Ethical Considerations

With such importance placed upon ethics, they were first considered when formulating the initial research aims and objectives. The research ethics were then assessed during the fieldwork, and once again following the end of the fieldwork year.

Dawson (2013:115-116) points to the overarching ethical considerations which should be addressed before the fieldwork commences. These include neutrality, the "emergence of emotional factors", and potential for trauma resulting from the research. Furthermore, researcher honesty regarding the study, whether there is a requirement to lie to participants, and what to do if ethnical issues arise, was addressed. Due to the nature of the research, participants' backgrounds and the potential for researcher rejection was highlighted, as was the possibility of legal issues. The legal issues reviewed ranged from illegal activity encountered through to the treatment of the data gathered; in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the relevant Data Protection Directive of the European Union.

The potential for illegal activity was considered to be low; The College is a large FE organisation which checks the documentation of all students prior to enrolment. The students' backgrounds were not known, though a number of the students featured in the fieldwork had been in the classes for a number of years and as such were well known to the staff. Both these considerations were correct, though further issues did present themselves.

While on break for lunch in December, the staff received notification that a student had been arrested by the UK Border Agency, as his leave to remain had expired. The student was then taken to a detention centre near London. The student was popular both within The College and the wider community following their undertaking extensive voluntary work with local charities. Letters to appeal the decision were requested by the staff, and were forthcoming from community groups, local politicians and staff at The College. Providing a letter to support the appeal created a

number of issues; firstly, although I knew the student and had sympathy with his plight, could I in good conscience, support an appeal against a legal process? If I could, what impact would this have in my role as an observer opposed to participant? Also, as a representative of the University, would there be any reputational impact of an appeal? Countering this was the need to recognise the impact of the arrest on the learners in participating within the research and the need to reassure learners that there was sympathy with this learner's plight. Following discussions with the faculty ethics champion, it was agreed that a letter of support could be sent on condition it did not appear that I was offering support on behalf of the University.

Following the fieldwork, the disagreements and arguments between the participants were reviewed to discover if the researcher's presence in general had caused any of the issues and to ensure there was no lasting effect on the participants.

These concerns were bought to the attention of the Faculty Ethics Champion. How these issues would manifest themselves in the fieldwork was assessed. The issues highlighted were:

- The potential vulnerability of the learners due to their previous experiences prior to, and since, arriving in the UK
- Potential impact of being observed on learners' ability to study and focus upon the classes
- The potential impact of having an individual with perceived authority through language and/or education shadowing a class
- Impact upon the staff at The College through being observed and recorded in all the Level 2 classes

To overcome these ethical concerns, it was agreed that informed consent would be required; this was explained by ESOL staff to the learners and consent forms were signed. Much emphasis was placed on informing staff and students of the research taking place. Particularly, the use of a digital recorder within the classroom was envisaged as a potential issue, and as such a meeting was held with members of staff teaching the classes I attended to ensure there were no difficulties. Unfortunately, one member of staff was unable to attend the meeting, and although reassurances were given to me that the information would be distributed to all other staff members, this did not occur.

As such, on a Friday morning in November I was taken to one side in the corridor by a staff member who had not been contacted but had seen the digital recorder at the end of the lesson on the table next to the teacher's desk. Having not previously been notified or highlighted to the staff member, it caused some apprehension and questions about the use of the recorder, anonymity of students, and whether The College would be using the recordings to check the quality of teaching.

Concerned by the potential impact of these questions we repaired to the classroom and at my request were joined by the ESOL Manager. The questions were aired once more and a full explanation of the oversight in informing other members of staff was given. The ESOL Manager offered apologies which, it was agreed, were not required. Although contained, I offered the member of staff the chance to withdraw from the research. This offer was given as the class being taught was ICT and not a core ESOL subject, so would not impact upon the core data sets being generated.

Although the offer was refused, handwritten observations were solely taken during these ICT classes. Recordings continued to be taken in all other lessons. Although the incident had no lasting effects and the staff member continued to be supportive of the study, it was clear that reliance upon the formal staff network to update teachers of the details of the research was not sufficient, and as such, regular monthly staff meetings were attended to anticipate and solve any arising issues, which, ultimately, didn't present themselves.

Full disclosure of the topic and potential use of the data was provided to the learners, and a question and answer session was held to discuss any concerns. The learners were also informed of their ability to withdraw at any time and that this would not impact upon their ESOL studies. While undertaking the fieldwork there was a predominant honesty with the staff and learners, including the aims and objectives of the research and the data protection safeguards in place. It was felt this would offset some of the ethical concerns and enable better interaction and foster greater levels of trust. Some of the observations and insights revealed within the classroom were often written up following the classes. The reason for this was the feeling that copious note writing at a poignant moment in the class may cause the participants to change the way they act, or prevent them from displaying these attitudes or behaviours again. The kinds of situations this occurred in included arguments, students asking the teacher difficult or challenging questions, and times where complaints were made. I also became privy to personal anecdotes and became a confidant to both staff and students. These interactions were often done without immediate note taking or recording, but again were recorded later.

In addition, The College tutors met with the students once a week as a class and spoke to students independently to ascertain any potential problems arising from the research. It was agreed that pseudonyms would be given to all staff and students, and all data collected would be held securely and most importantly, from the students' point of view, not disclosed to any third parties. Of course this also involves mutual respect between participants, whereby classroom and group discussions are not shared outside The College setting (Dawson 2013:92).

Bias

It is clear with such a divisive topic, the opinion of the researcher from the outset can impact upon relationships formed and data collected. Originally from Norfolk, a county with one of the lowest migrant population levels in the UK, I had little opinion of migration and integration as it was not a factor which directly impacted upon my life. Upon moving to South Wales, I became aware of large settled minority communities. This contributed to my decision to study this topic in order to discover the reason for the specifically densely populated areas. An additional interest came through the recurrent headlines highlighting the rate of immigration into the UK and describing disturbing facts about these visitors on what felt like a daily basis. The negativity of these headlines could bias my opinion of the subject area, but it was hoped that the desire to seek the truth behind these media stories and appreciation of the risk of bias regarding these factors may offset the risk. This appreciation is also highlighted by Dawson (2013:71); bias "is all part of the research process and, as such, should be recognised and acknowledged". Carey (1989:104) found that some "'truth' can transcend opinion and bias" and although it

is hoped this is true, the awareness of bias remained at the forefront of the data collection.

An issue found during the fieldwork was "prestige bias" (Dawson 2013:105). It was clear that being from a University, many learners felt a level of intimidation. This was addressed relatively quickly with a class talk about the nature of the study, once it was made clear that I was there to be educated by the learners. The learners seemed to embrace this relationship, often asking to meet during breaks and lunchtime to talk through their ideas and opinions.

Sample

The study is based in a Level 2 ESOL class for a full academic year. The site of the ESOL classes was a further education college, named The College for the purpose of this research. Other providers were visited; however, the full time attendance of staff and learners at The College made the location ideal. In addition, being the largest provider of ESOL within the city provided the researcher with access to the widest possible provision in which to study.

The College has approximately 200 ESOL learners, ranging from Entry 2 through to Level 2. Access was negotiated through the ESOL Manager and it was agreed that a Level 2 class would be observed for the academic year. I attended The College for between 30-35 hours per week from September 2011 to June 2012. The Level 2 group was selected due to their higher English ability which made informed consent easier. Additionally, it was confirmed that The College Level 2 was the group which had the highest rate of citizenship applications of all the ESOL levels.

A year-long study was chosen to ensure the research tracked the complete academic and social experience of learners. The full academic year was selected as during initial discussions with The College it was indicated that a year would provide an in-depth overview of ESOL as each level lasts one academic year. It would also generate sufficient detail for the confines of this research. In addition, some of the migrants featured had witnessed family members being tortured by government and military figures, causing distinct issues in trusting individuals who may be perceived as authoritative, as well as complete strangers. Subsequently it was felt that spending an academic year with the same class would encourage trust, which in turn would provide the most in-depth and reliable data possible.

Limitations and Methodological Constraints

The fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken at a large ESOL centre in South Wales and, it cannot be argued that this is representative of all ESOL centres. The provision was full-time and funded separately to Centres in England through the Welsh Government as a devolved function. The Centre also used facilities which were shared with other mainstream courses, such as a fully funded career and library service, which are not necessarily reflective of ESOL providers across the England and Wales.

During the literature review and primary research phases of this thesis it was clear the impact funding has on ESOL classes, as well as the high levels of attendance at community ESOL centres. Although the experiences of ESOL learners and the course materials used may also be features of ESOL centres elsewhere in the UK, this thesis is too limited to make these generalisations. Furthermore, the ESOL

lessons attended were confined to Level 2, and therefore this research provides a snapshot of the learning and experiences at this specific point. The Level 2 learners had the greater English language ability and therefore were able to engage with the research. It is also the Level at which most learners apply for citizenship. This meant that some learners could reflect on their ESOL experiences across numerous levels, however this research can only be considered in the context of its findings in a Level 2 classroom. Similarly, The College employed well-trained and many highly experienced teachers, who had both ESOL specific and general teaching qualifications. This research did not seek to explore the specific qualifications of staff at The College and therefore cannot provide a comparator to the staff lecturing in ESOL at other institutions.

The diversity of the ESOL learner has been well documented, as are the participants of this research. This diversity resulted in multiple languages being spoken both in and outside of the classroom and this presented challenges. For example there were times where learners were speaking a dialect of Arabic together and would not translate what was being discussed. This inability to comprehend and document these discussions does place some limits on the data being collected. This diversity also extended to cultural and religious beliefs of the learners who participated in this research, although some of these cultural traits, such as accepting sweets when celebrating good news were easy to overcome, others, such as some female learners not wanting to be recorded, photographed or interviewed in a one to one setting were less easy to overcome. The use of a focus group to gain the views of learners provided worthwhile and comprehensive evidence; however it perhaps lacked the depth of personal information which might have been gained through interviewing.

Although answers and discussions in the focus group were probed, the depth gained by interviewing and exploring answers with each ESOL learner could not be achieved within a focus group setting. The use of a female researcher within the interviews would potentially have overcome this issue, although alone they would have not had the knowledge or experience of the fieldwork to probe successfully. Although the offer of having a female chaperone in the interviews was offered, this was declined. This method may also have limited the information provided within the interview, with the inclusion of a third person adversely changing the dynamic.

The nature of ESOL research and vulnerability of ESOL leaners also means that the availability of information on individual ESOL learners featured in other studies is limited. The information from transcripts or excerpts features gender, age and sometimes the ethnic origin of the participant, but other details are often omitted to prevent the participant being identifiable. This has also meant that the information gained within this study which relates to the barriers of learners, cannot be generalised based on details their background, length of time in the UK, area of residence, previous and current employment or any position in the wider security. Despite these limitations, this study revealed a wealth of rich data which enabled light to be thrown upon the experience of ESOL learners and this, in turn has resulted in an important contribution to the subject literature.

Conclusion

This chapter has evidenced the methods used to research the learners of a Level 2 ESOL class, as well as the teaching staff and the former Home Secretary. The reason

for the methods chosen have been described, along with an acknowledgement and understanding that each method chosen balances both benefits and drawbacks.

The use of an ethnographic approach enabled me to build up relationships with both learners and staff in the ESOL centre. This gave me privileged access to the lives and the feeling of these participants, which has enabled a rich and vast amount of primary data to be collected. This data was not only audio recording from lessons, meetings and focus groups, but also written notes, learning materials and the free writing tasks of learners. The benefit of this data was balanced against the responsibility I held as a researcher to accurately reflect the spirit and meaning of the data, but it was also balanced against the concern of betraying the confidence of participants by awarding any criticism. It is accepted that this is a common issue for researchers in the field and I was satisfied that full disclosure was given to all participants and this included being open to criticism.

Without doubt, the experience of working and attending classes alongside ESOL learners broadened my understanding of migration and language learning, as well as the lives of both ESOL learners and staff. The ability for the learners and staff to have a voice on such wide ranging topics ensured that well evidenced and reliable data sets were generated.

Furthermore, the opportunity to interview and gain insight from the Home Secretary responsible for the development and implementation of ESOL provided not only a unique insight into the origins and development of ESOL, it also provided a contrast

between what was experienced by learners and what was envisaged by policy makers. This ensures an original contribution to this field of research is maintained.

Whereas this chapter has provided the details of the research methods used for this thesis, the context in which they were used is uniquely important. The following chapter provides the details of the research environment for the ethnographic study of the Level 2 ESOL class.

5. The Research Environment

This chapter provides the background to the fieldwork and its participants. The chapter is separated into four sections. The first section will provide broad details of the geographical area where the research is located. The second section will provide the details of the ESOL institution, the setting of the ESOL classes. The third will detail the timetable of the class featured in this research. The fourth section will provide an insight into the diversity found in ESOL classrooms, with the details of learners in this research found in Appendix A.

Geographical Area

To ensure the anonymity of the participants in this study, the exact location of the ESOL centre is not disclosed. This is through agreement with the ESOL Centre and assurances provided to the learners when the fieldwork was described to them. There is a need, however, to provide context to the geographical area.

The ESOL Centre is in a South Wales metropolitan area with 15.3% (52,951) of the area being of a non-White ethnic origin totalling 52,951 people, of which 43,953 were born outside the UK.

A total of 7,413 in the area have no English language ability, with a further 1,140 households having no English language skills except for at least one person aged 3 to 15 years old who has English or Welsh as a main language. The average age for new arrivals to the area from overseas is between 25 and 29, with the highest influx since 1941 coming between 2007 and 2009.

The area features longstanding migrant communities who have had settled communities in the area since the early 19th century. The area is therefore a historically multi-cultural area with communities pre-dating a number of those found in modern UK cities.

ESOL Institution

This research was undertaken at the largest ESOL centre in an expanding Welsh metropolitan area. Titled 'The College', the Centre has been teaching ESOL since 2001, and has a large well-qualified staff with a well-equipped modern teaching environment.

The College is based on a tree-lined street in the metropolitan suburb. Nearby areas are well-served by buses and the nearest train station is a 10-minute walk. There are cafes, public houses and hotels in the vicinity as well as a branch office of the UK Border Agency.

The College building itself is a large 19th century building in a neo-classical style. It features large dark oak doors, which matches a traditional grand wooden staircase. There are three primary ESOL classrooms which are large rooms with tall ceilings, and a further four classrooms which other subject areas also use. The classrooms all feature internet ready PCs and interactive whiteboards with overhead projectors. The learners have access to a library, which has books and reading materials appropriate to each of the ESOL levels taught and a specialist librarian who provides ESOL support.

The ESOL classrooms are based along a single dead-end corridor. At the entrance to the corridor is the staff room, where the teaching staff congregates each morning. The staff room has a security door with a key card entry system. The door has a large sign asking students not to knock unless it's an emergency, and a metal post-box for students to write messages to their tutors, which is checked each day. At the end of the corridor, there is an area for students to pray. The corridor overlooks an open garden with benches and a grassed area. The site also homes a number of mainstream courses, with a large cohort of non-ESOL learners who share a communal area with the ESOL learners.

There are four ESOL levels taught at The College, with each level split into two groups, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. My research followed the morning Level 2 cohort, with a core of 16 students.

The College maintained a waiting list for all levels of its ESOL courses. All prospective students are required to complete a diagnosis assessment to gauge their English language skills and ensure that adequate support is in place through both the teaching staff and the student support centre based in The College library.

The College actively monitors the progress of ESOL students from the first induction week. During this week all learners sign a 'Probationary Contract'. This contract requires the learner to meet the following requirements:

- Attend all your lectures, unless you have agreed an authorised absence with your tutor.
- Arrive at all lectures on time.

- Behave in a professional manner and respect others.
- Keep up to date with all work and attend the Study Centre if advised.
- All college and classroom ground rules to be followed at all times.

The probationary period lasts one month and is concluded following a review with the learners' personal tutor.

The learners are placed into tutor groups with classes ordinarily restricted to less than 20 learners. Each tutor group has a *personal tutor* who monitors the progress of students as well as providing the pastoral and academic support learners require. During the year mock examinations take place to indicate any learning needs. The learners are able to adapt their learning using 'spikey profiles' which allow the learning of different levels of the ESOL subjects depending upon ability. Therefore, it is possible for some learners to study Level 1 Reading alongside Level 2 Writing and Level 2 Speaking and Listening. This ensures that learners get the most out of their time in ESOL.

The assessment and self-assessment of progress by learners is further documented through the use of ESOL Individual Learning Plans (ILP). The ILP set skills and targets for learners to achieve in conjunction with activities and resources required. The ILP finishes with the opportunity for the learner to provide feedback on the course, including what the learner feels they have gained, the accreditation received, the evidence and next steps for the learner. The feedback received on the forms is then reviewed by the ESOL teachers and College management, alongside the *Sharing Good Practice: Classroom Observation* which is undertaken throughout the year.

The *Classroom Observation* is undertaken by other teaching staff and covers all manner of teaching from the suitability of classroom space, use of equipment and resources, description of activities and topics covered and the features of good practice.

Additionally, The College sought volunteers from each class to take part in a classroom representatives' scheme. This panel met once each term and discussed any issues suggested by the representatives and was attended by senior managers of The College.

Level 2 Class Timetable

All ESOL classes at The College were full time with 17.5 hours of contact time each week and a similar number of hours being dedicated to self-directed study which included homework, reading and attendance at the College Study Centre in the Learning Resource Centre.

There were three Level 2 classes during the fieldwork year with different class times. Level 2A were morning classes, Level 2B were mid-morning to early afternoon classes and Level 2C were afternoon classes. The fieldwork class shadowed Level 2A, with classes running from 9am to 1pm.

The timetable for learners each week consisted of:

- Tutorial: 2 hours
- Reading and Vocabulary: 2.5 hours
- Speaking and Listening: 2 hours
- Writing: 4.5 hours

- Communications: 1 hour
- BTEC Vocational Studies: 2 hours

Other timetabled classes included ICT for 1 hour and 2.5 hours of Maths. Some students also studied the Welsh language for 1 hour on a Monday.

Introduction to ESOL Learners

The diversity found is an ESOL classroom can be described in many contexts. Cooke (2006:57) described the participants of ESOL class surveys in London and the north-west of England as "represent[ing] a spectrum of people living, often side by side, in a post-colonial society at a time of globalisation". Specifically, Cooke (2006:57) details "refugees, asylum seekers still awaiting a decision on their applications, EU nationals….people from so-called settled communities who may have been in the country for many years, newly-arrived 'spouses', so-called 'economic migrants', people who are joining family members, people with work permits and even some people who were born in the UK who have spent their childhoods abroad. From this spectrum of individuals, Simpson (2006:41) states that "many adult ESOL learners have low levels of educational attainment", because of their "little experience of school" and therefore "little previous experience of formal testing". Although Wallace (2006:76) makes clear that "even where the ESOL learner has had little or no schooling she/he brings valuable experiences to bear".

This variable experience is considered by Baynham, Roberts and colleagues (2007, cited by Simpson 2016:6), who propose that "the profile of these (ESOL) classes reflects fast-moving patterns of migration…An intermediate ESOL class in Sydney

or Toronto, or elsewhere in London, or in a large regional city, or in a rural area, would most likely exhibit a different but possibility equally varied profile".

Simpson (2016:6) outlined the fundamental difference "lies in the languages they speak", although accepts that "a 'census' view of languages however does not encapsulate the full complex picture of language use amongst ESOL students", due to the prevalence of "multilingual and multi-literate" learners.

Although not as diverse a group as those found by Simpson (2016:6), Baynham, Roberts and colleagues (2007, cited by Simpson 2016:6), and Cooke (2006), the learners featured in this research remain diverse, from many different countries; some British citizens, others not, some from EU countries, others escaping persecution.

Their length of time in the UK ranges from 1 to 4 years up to 10 to 14 years. The qualifications they received from their country of origin ranges from no education to having a University degree. They are taken from a range of continents, with some who came to the UK to escape persecution and others who followed their friends and family. When describing each of the participants in the ESOL classroom, some learners asked that few personal details were included through fear of identification. This is obviously respected, and the type of information included was agreed with individual learners. Therefore, an increase or greater amount of detail does not place weight or significance on their views, but merely contains the information that they agreed to be used. It is worthy of note that their personal lives were as diverse as their backgrounds. Some were married or lived with family, others lived alone and

spent little time with others outside the classroom. For the most part the only thing which these nine female and seven male learners had in common was their desire to learn English, although their reasons for learning were also very different.

A more detailed overview of the learners and staff is contained within Appendix A, however the following is a precis of the learners:

- Bruna, 21 from South America. Came to the UK to escape persecution. Started ESOL classes for employability.
- Dominika, 21 from the Eastern bloc. Came to the UK to escape political persecution. Started ESOL classes to go to University.
- Kaja, 30 from Iraqi Kurdistan. An economic migrant, who gained British citizenship. Started ESOL classes to make friends, improve job and work prospects, but also integrate into British society.
- Layla, mid-30's from Iraq. Came to the UK to escape persecution.
- Arda, 34 from Iraqi Kurdistan. Came to the UK to be with friends and family. Subsequently gained British citizenship. She felt that ESOL encourages citizenship but doesn't feel British herself.
- Amira, 43 from Iraq. Came to the UK to be with friends and family. Started ESOL to gain greater acceptance into British society and for employability.
- Yaya, 32 from Africa. Left her country to follow her husband, but came to the UK for political freedom. Started ESOL to gain British citizenship.
- Kanta, 29 from Bangladesh. A British citizen through marriage who had been in the UK between 5 and 9 years. Started ESOL classes for employability, but also to go to University.

- Lucie, 43 from Africa. Came to the UK to escape persecution. She started studying ESOL to gain citizenship, but she subsequently achieved. She also started studying ESOL with the goal of going to University.

A precis of the male learners is as follows:

- Saare, 30 from Africa. Came to the UK to escape persecution. He started ESOL to help his integration, but also go on to University. He hopes to gain British citizenship after finishing ESOL.
- Sayid, 18 from Africa. Came from the same country as Saare, each on opposing sides during a civil war. He started ESOL classes after attending a local high school for some time. He left during the second term to seek employment as a security guard.
- Mohammad, 28 from Somalia. He came to the UK with his wife and children. He found the ESOL classes too challenging and left early in the year to become a taxi driver.
- Omar, 30 from Pakistan. Came to the UK with a desire to start a business. Following a racist incident at his home while in his ESOL lessons, he left to spend more time with his wife and young family.
- Javed, 30 from Iran. Came to the UK to escape persecution. He started ESOL to be part of British society, make friends and for employability. His main aim was to study ESOL to go to University.
- Thabo, 32 from Africa. Came to the UK for political protection. He started studying ESOL in order to go to University.
- Amiin, 50 from Africa. Came to the UK to follow his family and get political freedom. A Danish citizen, he wanted to become a British citizen.

A precis of the teaching staff is as follows:

- Molly, a senior and widely respected ESOL teacher with 20 year's experience. She often took personal responsibility to help learners who needed assistance and taught the BTEC in Vocational Studies.
- Kate, the main teacher for the cohort. She gained international experience teaching ESOL and provided pastoral support for the learners throughout the year.
- Hannah, was a Level 2 writing teacher who had a substantial history of teaching English, but was reasonably new to ESOL.
- Simon, although one of the youngest ESOL teacher, was also the one with the longest service in the ESOL centre. He taught both Speaking and Listening and Reading classes to Level 2.
- Fiona was an ESOL teacher who most other teachers came to for advice. Experienced at both English language education and ESOL, she taught the Level 2 reading class.
- Olivia, another young ESOL teacher, but also the most dedicated. She organised the extra-curricular activities in the ESOL centre, Olivia also taught the Level 2 class OCN Communication classes.

Conclusion

The ESOL centre was located in an area with a distinct history of migrant settlement and as such featured areas which had a core of residents which, from looking at the census data, had little or no English language skill. The history of immigration ensured that migrations have been a constant feature within the living memory of those living in the area. The setting for the classes within a historic building meant there was an imposing grandeur which added formality to the learning environment.

This formality was further introduced through learning contracts and the maintenance of ILPs throughout the year. This was further demonstrated by the formal registration and attendance required throughout the year, which was a key feature of the full-time learning experience. Despite this formality, the ESOL learners were also given a voice in their learning through the use of class representatives meeting with ESOL management to ensure there was strong communication between ESOL learners and staff.

The portraits described within this chapter provide a broad, but anonymised overview of the learners and staff. These are included to provide not only an understanding of the ethnic diversity within the classroom, but also some of the experiences and challenges which are frequently faced by both ESOL staff and learners. Following visits to other ESOL centres, speaking to ESOL teachers from across the UK and reviewing the findings of the surveys undertaken at sites in both the north and south of England and in Wales, this ESOL centre is not extraordinary. There was also a strong link between the learners and their tutors which, given the vulnerable nature of some learners, is not surprising.

This chapter has provided the details of the research environment and its participants' features. The details of the ESOL course and timetable have also been explained. The following chapter introduces the first data chapter which will provide details of the teaching materials suggested for use within the classroom, followed by those used within the research setting.

6. The Nation in the Classroom

From policy development through to implementation, the Government's view on migration, active citizenship and society is embedded into the ESOL classroom. The introduction of Government citizenship materials demonstrates the direction of travel envisaged for migrants seeking integration; produced at time of significant civil unrest through the Oldham riots of 2001 and as a response to concerns relating to segregated and disenfranchised communities, the desire of Government was to improve migrant knowledge of life in the UK and promote the idea of seeking British citizenship.

When interviewed about the context in which the ESOL policy was developed, David Blunkett explained:

> "We tend not to have major debates about immigration when we have Conservative governments. When the Labour government came in there was an upswing in migration due to international situations to do with the African regimes and the Taliban in Afghanistan before the 2001 Trade Centre attacks. There had been a long running high amount of immigration from Iraq, particularly the Kurds. This required a response. It was linked to what I did as Education Secretary with citizenship classes in schools. It also linked with adult education initiatives and the infusion of funds into Further Education…I have a background in education".

When specifically questioned about the impact of these funds, it was further stated that

> "Immediately we did that and you start engaging people in the world of work [sic]. We had a number of programmes, and then you need to also have

> language capability and skills. This co-incidence with equal opportunity policies, as a lot of women, particularly Asian community who were stuck at home as they weren't equipped to take a job, do shopping, go along to the local nursery with their child etc. The follow through of that was the working group under Bernard Crick, who had done the citizenship investigation and task force for schools. We then looked at it alongside the changes in citizenship arrangements, courses and the Life in the UK test-this required a language facility"

To this end, a Citizenship Learners Pack was designed to provide the foundations on which to build migrants' knowledge about life in the UK. Covering aspects from citizenship and Parliament through to work, health and education, a wide-ranging view of the structures of UK society was provided. The Home Office (2010), which was responsible for the accreditation of ESOL institutions, did not design these materials to be either "complete" or "definitive". Teaching staff are encouraged to develop "local" and "authentic" materials which are of "interest" to the learners within the ESOL classroom, but these should be "derived" from the Learner Pack material. To this end, three topics will be selected from the menu which were found to be of most "interest" and prominence for learners; these were selected through discussion within the ESOL class (Home Office 2010:v).

Although the Learner Pack includes language materials up to Entry 3, the topic and subject matter are what will be examined, rather than the language points taught within the activities.

During the fieldwork it was found that, in the experience of The College ESOL teaching staff, more Level 2 students apply for citizenship than any other ESOL level in The College. Therefore, the topic areas of the materials used within the classroom at The College will be assessed from the same nationalistic and legislative perspective to contrast whether these can be considered to "develop learner knowledge of life in the UK; [and] support application for citizenship" (Home Office 2010:v).

Within this chapter, it will be argued that the state produced materials contained within the Citizenship Learner's Pack (referred to throughout as the 'Learner's Pack') uses nationalism to deliver citizenship material which seeks to create active citizens through 'supporting citizenship', and reaffirm the idea that integration is "founded on fundamental beliefs about the principles of nationhood" (Home Office report by Ager et al. 2002:6). By contrast this chapter will find that the materials used within the ESOL classroom are less concerned with nationalism and the aim of integration as outlined by Ager et al. (2002), but more concerned with the everyday occurrences of news media, family experiences and opportunities in the workplace.

This will be achieved both in reference to the theoretical discussions of Nationalism and Nationhood from the first chapter of this thesis, but also the priorities of the state outlined in the chapter describing the legislative environment within ESOL.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will evidence the topics contained within the citizenship pack, followed by an overview of the topics covered within the ESOL classroom featured in the fieldwork. The first section of the citizenship pack considered is the description of society, which provides an overview of the essential topics the State explains are the foundations of civic integration.

The Description of Society

The advent of ESOL Skills for Life as an avenue to citizenship brought with it a responsibility for the Home Office to ensure that the needs of both the learner and wider society were met. The development of a Citizenship Pack of ESOL Materials for the classroom was devised through consultation with 18 organisations ranging from local authorities, FE colleges to third sector groups. The aim of the material was to "support teachers in developing learners' English language skills; support teachers in developing learners' knowledge of life in the UK; [and] support application for citizenship" (Home Office 2010:v).

The constructs of society are described within a 'menu' of twelve citizenship topics:

1. What is Citizenship?
2. Parliament and the electoral system
3. Geography and history
4. The United Kingdom as a diverse society
5. The United Kingdom in Europe, the Commonwealth and the United Nations
6. Human Rights
7. Working in the UK
8. Health
9. Housing
10. Education
11. Community engagement
12. Knowing the law

Each of these topics is divided into subject items, with the main subjects featuring a teachers' guide and classroom materials. The pack provides materials for each of the three ESOL classes in levels Entry 1 to Entry 3. Following E3 there are no prescribed materials for Levels 1 and 2 as the pack "is not designed to be complete … [nor] definitive" and throughout all levels teachers are encouraged to write or source their own materials to adapt to the local area's needs or learners' requirements. Although E3 is the minimum level of progression required to apply for citizenship, the fieldwork College reports that most learners who applied for citizenship did so upon completing the entire ESOL Skills for Life programme up to Level 2. Therefore, there is a need to ensure that citizenship education and learning continues across all the ESOL Skills for Life levels.

The publication of a standardised citizenship pack correlates with the work of Gellner (1983), who believed that the standardised education system was paramount, as it ensured suitably knowledgeable and skilled individuals would be contributing to society. This contribution not only includes the ability to participate economically, but also understand the rights and responsibilities of the citizen. Importantly, however, the only way for an individual to achieve this is through the ability to engage and converse with others in a common language.

Therefore, in combining a learner's pack which is used nationally in ESOL classes with a language curriculum that provides the basis of examination of ESOL learners, it can clearly be argued that the government not only seeks to support the information needs of migrants, but also seeks to meet the needs of the nation as argued by Gellner (1983).

By directing the topic areas and the types of information on which additional course material must be derived, the government exerts additional control over how structures of society are perceived by prospective citizens. It is this which Gellner (1983:54-55) described when he spoke of "pervasive high cultures" where the "shared culture" of society is a product of the State. For Gellner (1983), this is evidenced by the tendency of the government to decide on what is taught, rather than the learner explaining what they feel they need to know.

State Citizenship Material

In analysing the topic areas provided within the Citizenship Learners' Pack, the theories of nationalism and nationhood outlined in the first chapter of this thesis will be drawn upon. Particular emphasis is placed on the works of Gellner (1983) who theorised that the standardisation of education was a key part of the proliferation of nationalism leading to nationhood. Furthermore, McCrone and Kiely (2000:24-25) attribute the belief that "modern societies, were fundamentally nationalist" to Gellner (1983), which he further argues is the basis of nationhood. It is not only Gellner (1983) who makes this connection; the link between nationhood and nationalism is argued by Smith (1998), Anderson (1993), and even at the lowest level by Renan (1882) in describing it as a 'daily plebiscite'. In making the link between the lives of migrants and nationhood, the Home Office report of Ager et al. (2002:6) found that integration is "founded on fundamental beliefs about the principles of nationhood". Furthermore, when defining 'The Indicators of Integration Framework" the foundation of integration is 'Rights and Citizenship', facilitated by both "language and cultural knowledge" and 'safety and stability" Ager et al. (2002:3).

What is Citizenship?

Within the Learners' Pack it is stated that, irrespective of the class or learner, the only topic which should always be included is the one which asks 'What is Citizenship?'. The importance of its inclusion is clear; the Home Office (2010:v) is explicit in the aim that ESOL should, at that time, "support the application of citizenship" and to gain it, learners must first understand it.

The learners are asked to discuss "the things that help you to feel you are part of the UK", with examples of discussion areas including "understanding English; having friends and family that live here; having friendly neighbours; having children who go to local schools; renting or owning a flat or house; having a job; having the same religion as people around you and voting in an election" (Home Office 2010:9).
When reviewing the international citizenship policy, it became apparent that few of these qualities could be considered a solely British preserve. It is clear that excluding the understanding of English, each of these could apply to feeling a part of most democratic countries across the globe.

Additionally, choices such as working, having a job and voting could be seen as part of the role of the 'active citizen'; however, few learners within a Level 2 classroom could claim to have undertaken any of these duties in the UK given their immigration status.

The goal appears to be as much to get migrants to strive to do more than they are currently able to do. Many will read the list and see activities they will endeavour to do in the hope it will make them feel a part of British society. Previous experience

for some of the ESOL cohort has meant that they have experienced a number of these duties and experiences and so could make a judgement on those with which they associate most strongly.

The citizenship materials explore the language of citizenship. Key words are provided to learners such as 'society', 'respect', 'government', 'diversity' and 'justice', with the opportunity to translate into the migrant's own language. The material then examines what learners will need to know in order to get British naturalisation (citizenship). The explanation includes the common features of age, residency, character, mental health and knowledge of the English language (or Welsh or Scottish Gaelic).

The main body of the material details the language and knowledge of the UK requirement and ability to demonstrate this knowledge through the Life in the UK test, or for those with English language needs, through progressing in ESOL classes. Although at the time this was a standalone requirement, the changes in October 2013 and again in 2015 removed the link to formal citizenship altogether.

The inclusion of a discussion on "having the same religion as people around you" (Home Office 2010:9) is significant. Geertz (1963), associates both language and religion as requirements to reaffirm a community and prevent discontent. This was further explored by Brass (1991) who explored the primoralist argument for lifetime attachments. Of these, kinship relations, religion and language are all primarily important for individuals to associate themselves with a people and an area.

Brass (1991) found further requirements such as common social practices could also simply include responsibilities such as voting and sending children to a local school. These similarities are given to the claim that although "there are few groups in the world today whose members can lay claim to a known common origin, it is not actual descent that is considered essential to the definition of an ethnic group but a belief in common descent" (Brass 1991:879). It is this, which the Home Office (2010:9) rely on, making migrants 'feel you are a part of the UK' (Home Office 2010:9).

The use of specific language is also key within this section. Emphasis on terms such as 'society', 'diversity', 'respect' and 'justice' are important and deliberate. The wording is iconic and almost an aspiration; likening society to ideals such as diversity, respect and justice. It is also similar in style to that used by Smith (1995:23) who describes the importance of "collective faith, dignity and hope" when considering unity in society. This point is reinforced by Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) who theorised that "language is used heavily to give a feeling of belonging", it also provides the vehicle for "faith, dignity and hope" to be understood (Smith 1995:23). The arguments are convincing; the use of iconic language is decided specifically to promote the idea of aspiration amongst those who the government hope will seek citizenship. Furthermore, it is the foundation for all other forms of nationalism to build upon, while also empowering learners to engage with civic society. As described by the Home Office (2010:9), an integral part of this is "voting in an election", meaning an understanding of Parliament and electoral system is key.

Parliament and the Electoral System

The inclusion of Parliament and the Electoral system provides an overview of the democratic structures of British society. The section includes for example, 'fill in the blanks' worksheets which contain details of now former Cabinet members such as Tony Blair as Prime Minister and Charles Clarke as Home Secretary. The activities detail the responsibilities of the posts as well as how they are selected to the Cabinet.

Greater detail is provided, however, to the work of an MP within their constituency; short activities, such as searching the details of an MP, identifying their political party and how to make an appointment are included, alongside transcripts of fictional conversations between an MP and a resident, which build up to outlining complex case studies with migrants seeking support for their immigration cases. The example case studies are telling; one example is of a migrant who has been robbed by a neighbour, racially abused and received no support from the local authority. A further example is of a migrant who has a British wife and child but has been refused a visa and faces deportation. Templates are then provided on how to seek help from Members of Parliament. It could be argued that by including such instances of racism and negative immigration experiences, the Learners' Pack is providing negative scenarios of situations which a migrant may experience. However, the inclusion of details on how to lobby an MP over these issues ensures there is a knowledge of the support which the State offers to combat and tackle such matters.

Furthermore, the inclusion of fictitious circumstances to explain the role of an MP illustrates the personal details required by an MP to champion a cause. This is of particular importance for the migrants who have a mistrust or fear of authority

figures and representative of the State. Indeed, like the inclusion of work and voting in establishing 'what is citizenship?', the encouragement to engage with MPs further supports the view that not only does the State seek a citizen, but importantly those termed 'active citizens'. There is also an underlying of nationalism to this, which the ability to 'imagine; themselves having contact with MPs on various issues, like those migrants in the fictional case studies. Although it is not evidenced that this is a deliberate factor, the ability for migrants to feel they have a 'voice' and will be listened to by an authority figure, provides a keen sense of empowerment. Anderson (1983) strongly related this form of identity as being part of the 'imagined community' where undertaking similar tasks and having similar experiences acts as a bind for individuals living in the same society. This would be particularly strong in emotive or complex instances of seeking advice and assistance related to their daily lives or future in the UK.

There is a deliberate inclusion of 'sensitive topics' and these also extend to the inclusion of gender and age. Specifically relating to gender, learners are asked to "Research Women MPs. How many are there at the moment? How many are Ministers? Who was the first woman MP and when was she in Parliament?" This is followed by a group discussion based on the question "Do you think there should be more women MPs?" (Home Office 2010: 36-38).

These issues are of particular importance within some migrant groups. The inclusion of questions relating to the history and number of female MPs is likely to be a response to the perceived role of women in some cultures. Certainly the female teaching staff in the fieldwork had experienced this directly, with one anonymous

teacher stating “I have had some difficulties with a few male learners who have said that they would prefer not to be taught by a woman. We are lucky that Molly is very upfront and forthright”. When pressed to explain the importance of Molly’s outlook she continued “I doubt many would actively challenge a learner over this attitude, but Molly is very supportive”. It became clear from similar discussions with other tutors that with each new cohort of learners, the difficulties between some male learners and female teaching staff continued.

Moreover, the requirement to study ‘What is Citizenship?’ with its use of the terms ‘diversity’ and ‘respect’ could be used in the classroom to directly address the treatment of women in society, but this plays an equally important role for female learners within the ESOL classroom.

The intervention of Prime Minister David Cameron in early 2016 on behalf of what he viewed as “gender-segregated” female migrants who are suffering “discrimination” was received with mixed reviews, but it did identify the importance of inclusivity for women in the ESOL classroom (Cameron 2016:1). The barriers to learning identified earlier in the thesis describe the difficulties of female migrant learners both in participating in society, accessing education and navigating the workplace. Therefore, the inclusion of powerful women within the Learner pack not only makes clear the potential for female progression, but also attempts to empower women and demonstrates the opportunity which exists in British society.

The discussion of democracy of the UK progresses onto the most local and potentially well used level of government for ESOL learners and is explained

through the inclusion of local authorities. The local information sources for learners are clearly displayed, as are the typical services Councillors may be contacted for such as "housing, healthcare, education, the environment, refuse collection, and leisure facilities" (Home Office 2010:68). An example of Councillors' details following an election is given, providing the names and links to the survey information of all Labour Party Councillors who are part of an overall majority Labour Council at Croydon Council.

The inclusion and indeed promotion of political parties may, at first, appear to be an example of shameless promotion. The material makes reference in a full page advert to all 37 Labour Councillors on Croydon Council without reference to a single one of the 32 Conservative Councillors elected at the same time. It could rightly be argued that the inclusion of political parties is an important factor for migrant learners to understand, but as stated by Simpson (2016:9) "ESOL materials tend to reflect the political trends of the time". Therefore, a Labour government is more likely to include Labour material in its ESOL worksheets. Hechter and Levi (1979:6) explored this need for the public to be informed about politics, both for the good of the individual and of the political parties, as individuals will need to know about the "important incentives" each political party offers, this means "jobs, housing, welfare, or other government services" all of which are equally, if not occasionally, more important for migrants to understand.

It could be argued however that there is a need for this politicisation to be balanced to ensure that learners recognise the importance of free choice and a multi-party

system, ensuring there is no prominence given to ideology of any one political party with any greater control or influence in the accession of citizenship education.

The importance of democracy, the electoral system and the ability to seek advice and assistance is of key importance to a migrant's information need. The inclusivity of the case included the importance of tackling barriers, but introduced the idea of nationalism through Anderson's (1991) 'imagined community'. This not only relates to the case study topics, but also the emphasis previously placed on having 'the same religion', sending children 'to local schools'. This discussion of nationalism is furthered with the inclusion of geography and history within the Learner Pack.

Geography and History

The importance of symbolism and history is a key feature of the Home Office section on Geography and History. The section begins with large photographs of sport fans. The individual flags of countries within the United Kingdom are featured on the faces of sport fans with face painted flags representing Scotland, Wales and England. The imagines include individuals dressed in the colours of each nation, blue for Scotland, red for Wales and white for England and learners are asked to identify the team and country each one supports.

For Gulliver (2011:119), the inclusion of the flag is not accidental, believing that:

> "English as a second language textbooks often participate in banal repetitions of nation-ness and nationalism. This banal nationalism takes the form of the marking of the nation through flags … and nationalized symbols"

Similarly, to this research, Gulliver (2011:121) cited Billig (1995, 1999) who argues that the importance of these "banal flaggings" is due to its role as a "daily

remembrance of nation". Gulliver (2011:121) further refers to the findings of Billig (1995:38) who stated:

> "National identity in established nations is remembered because it is embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or 'flag', nationhood. However, these reminders or 'flaggings' are so numerous and they are such a familiar part of the social environment, that they operated mindlessly, rather than mindfully".

Gulliver (2011:121) relies mainly on the work of Billig (1995, 1999) but also acknowledges the importance of Anderson (2006) and the theory of 'imagined communities' which this thesis has argued is central to the production of nationalism in the ESOL classroom. Gulliver (2011:121) rightly argues that Anderson's (1991) argument relating to "the daily remembrance of the nation" is "crucial", but also that both "the media and narrative" play a leading role in extolling this. I would further argue that Anderson's (1991) theory of an 'imagined community' relies on these displays of iconic symbolism not only as the 'daily remembrance' as relied on by Renan (1882), but also for the ability to consciously unite. The use by the Learner Pack of flags within sport is key to this argument, with Llewellyn (2014) and Vincent and Hill (cited by Pederson 2013) citing the importance of Anderson's (1991) theory.

Additionally, the work of Smith (1998) identifies these symbols as a method of identifying the myths, memories and traditions of an ethnic group, and in other works refers to the assertion by Durkheim that a dying soldier does so "for his flag rather than his country" as the "flag rekindles his collective emotions" (Smith 1999:30). The association of symbols such as flags and the relationship with historical memories and traditions as described by Smith (1999) was not lost on Gulliver (2011:122) who acknowledges the argument of Jones and Merriman

(2009:166) “that ‘banal signifiers of official nationalisms can be viewed by members of minority groups or nations as symbols of oppression to be resisted and subverted”.

Following the inclusion of Geography, the History of the UK is covered within the Learner Pack. Interesting and irreconcilably linked in its approach to female MPs, the introduction to historical themes begins with an introduction to the historical importance of women in the UK through the suffragette movement. The first page of the section is a full-page reading of biographical information of Emily Davison. The narrative explains that Emily “did well at school and went to University. After University, she worked as a teacher”, and continues on to explain that “Emily was arrested and imprisoned seven times” as she was part of the “‘suffragettes’ and they were prepared to break the law to achieve the vote” (Home Office 2010:87). The biography finishes stating that “Emily ran out in front of a horse owned by King George V. The horse hit Emily…she died a few days later”; however, it is made clear that “in 1928 voting rights for men and women were equalised” (Home Office 2010:87).

The second page of reading within the Learner Pack is biographical information relating to suffragette founder Emmeline Pankhurst. The extract explains that Pankhurst was “involved in the struggles for women’s rights” and “decided to use more violent methods to get publicity, such as breaking windows, cutting telephone wires and burning empty buildings” (Home Office 2010:88).

Furthermore, the section on History focus on the life of Queen Victoria, as “official head of state of the United Kingdom and the British Empire, which included Canada,

Australia, India, New Zealand, and large parts of Africa" (Home Office 2010:91). Despite passing reference to some of the Kings of England and the United Kingdom, the pack continues to highlight the buildings of interest such as Shibden Hall which, it states, "became part of the divorce payment to Anne of Cleves from Henry VIII" and the house of Anne Hathaway, wife of William Shakespeare.

The almost unhindered prominence given to the historic female figures in the UK supports the argument previously described in this chapter relating to the promotion of female MPs. It was argued that the previously discussed example of female figures in leadership such as government established both the empowerment and opportunity provided to women in British society. The inclusion of the strong historical figures has made clear the significance women have played also in British history. In the chapter providing context for the fieldwork in this thesis, it was explained that the largest non-white ethnic groups within the geographical area were Indian at 2.3% of the population and Black African at 1.5% of the population. Interestingly the inclusion of Queen Victoria included her role as "Head of State of…India…and large parts of Africa", demonstrating not only a historic common bond between their countries both old and new, but also the importance female figures have played in their own histories.

It is also argued that there is a subtle inclusion of the suffragette movement within the explanation of the History of the UK, with shares links with the inclusion of female MPs in the modern day. The role of women within the democratic system is tracked from the early stages of the suffragette struggle for the female vote, through

to the aforementioned section regarding the history of female MPs and researches the work of female MPs as part of their studies.

The focus of these topics refers significantly to 'rights' and 'responsibilities', including those fought for, by social movements such as suffragettes. These activities were covered as much in terms of what was achieved, as it was the illegality of 'violent methods', breaking windows' and 'burning empty buildings'. The balance between the right to protest and seek change and the rule of law is indicated, but knowledge of the latter is key to strike a balance. This is the topic next to be covered.

Knowing the Law

Criminal Justice is described by the Law Society (2015:1) as the "fundamental principle and cornerstone of any democratic society", and is properly included as a prominent part of the Home Office citizenship materials.

The basis of the British legal process is introduced within the first activity of the Learner Pack and the concept of legal settings and people such as 'magistrate', 'juror', 'solicitor' and 'county court' are matched to their meanings. The explanations given for each provide insight into the people and procedures of the system, magistrates as an "ordinary person", a jury as "ordinary people", but also the judges, barristers and solicitors as "lawyers".

The learners then read texts about the legal system, beginning with the types of courts and powers; "the majority of cases are dealt with at magistrates' courts", but also space filling exercises, for example "there is no _____ in a magistrates'

court". This reading task is then linked to a speaking and listening task based, with discussions on "what is the difference between criminal and civil court?", "which courts do you think would deal with the following? A serious problem between a landlord and tenant? A drowning? A bank robbery? Shoplifting? An asylum appeal?" providing context for a range of differing legal issues.

At its most basic, the Learner Pack provides simple themes and ideas for learners to provide a broad understanding of life in the UK. There are important terms used within the texts to describe the roles of those within the judicial system. For the roles of Magistrates and a Jury, the emphasis on their being "responsible ordinary person" and "ordinary people" respectively is both encompassing and achievable for an average citizen (Home Office 2010:301). The position of Judge, Barrister and Solicitor as a "lawyer", as opposed to an "ordinary person", demonstrates a reassuring professionalism at the higher levels of the judiciary. However, the statement which rightly states "the majority of criminal cases are dealt with at magistrates' courts" places emphasis that the 'majority' of cases are dealt with by an 'ordinary person' (Home Office 2010:301-304), providing an indication that the majority of British justice is within the hands of the 'ordinary people'. In addition, by stating that both 'ordinary people' as well as professional lawyers uphold the justice system, the Learner Pack is demonstrating "legitimating principles" of the justice system, which Richmond (1984:5) argues "justify the existing differential distribution of economic status and political power" in society. Richmond (1984:6) additionally makes a case for a link between education and law in that "in normal conditions, legitimating agencies such as education and the law are sufficient to maintain social order".

As well as explaining the many levels of the civic and criminal justice system, the learner is asked “In your country, is the legal system similar to this? Describe how it is similar or different from the English system”. This requires the learner to contrast two legal systems, but importantly also recognise and understand the differences between the two systems. A recognition of the differences is key for Richmond (1984:5) who describes law as a “central value system which binds people together in a social contract or consensus concerning the necessity for order” (Parsons 1952, Cohen 1968, cited by Richmond 1984:5). As stated by Hobsbawm (1983, cited by Hutchinson and Smith 1995:77) “the standardisation of administration and law within it, and, in particular, state education, transformed people into citizenship”, therefore for order to continue, it is key for everyone to both know and associate with the law of the land.

These topics which have been featured within the Learners’ Pack evidenced provide fundamental details on democracy, history and law. The examples given the within the material are deliberately chosen and provide specific insight into key subject areas. Information on democracy, the role of parliamentarians and how their role can be relevant to migrants, is both practical and has elements of inclusivity with the case studies used. The ability to not only seek this assistance, but also how political parties operate and what services local councils provide. When considering British history, the role of women in supporting democracy and forcing change in society is given across a range of classroom tasks. This is particularly important given the dominance of men in some societies, and the prominence this has been given across

numerous worksheets. In doing so, the Learners' Pack promotes gender equality by drawing attention to the positive impact women have made to society.

A key observation of the legal section was the comparator sought between the legal processes of the UK compared to the migrants' country of origin. In asking 'in your country, is the legal system similar to this?', there are multiple layers to what is being requested. To compare is to see similarities, but also recognise differences and this enables the learner to give thought about applying UK laws to their daily lives opposed to their home country. Furthermore, in giving recognition of their home country's legal system alongside the British system and adding value to it by asking for details, there is an element of the multiculturalism and recognition of their past as well as their future.

As previously mentioned, it is anticipated that material in the ESOL classroom should be original and reflect local needs, but also be based on the topics contained within the Learners Pack. The next section will provide a comparator to the subjects and topics covered in the Learners Pack. This will be done by considering the materials used within the classroom which relate the topics mentioned above. Further topics will also be considered which are relevant and worthy of note.

Classroom Topics

Simpson (2016:9) found that "ESOL teachers also draw upon commercially-produced [English as a Foreign Language] materials, such as the type of textbooks used in the teaching of EFL around the world". The material used within the fieldwork ESOL classroom were either created in-house, downloaded from an ESOL

site or taken from textbooks. The "global" texts which "can be marketed and sold anywhere" are likely to have "questionable" benefit. Although the linguistic appetite of learners is likely to be met within these materials, it is unlikely they will gain meaningful social or cultural insight (Simpson 2016:9).

This is supported by Wallace (2006:75) who also challenges the benefit of some ESOL materials, as "learners are typically required to respond with 'correct' responses to classroom texts, whose forms and meanings are fixed, unyielding to new inflections or resonances". Furthermore, as ESOL writers "do not attempt to cater for the daily needs of ESOL students", they are unlikely find materials "derived" from the Home Office Citizenship pack appealing (Home Office 2010). This part of the chapter provides an account of the prominent ESOL materials used during the fieldwork.

What is Citizenship?

Within the fieldwork, the explicit inclusion of citizenship as a sole lesson subject area was seen primarily within the Level 2 Speaking and Listening classes. The lessons centred upon the class researching and presenting topics of citizenship for the first two presentations with the final presentation being about current affairs. Simon stated:

> "It gives them [the learners] a chance to talk about what interests them … it also gets them to move about a bit"

The class were mixed together and paired to ensure that those learners who normally sat together were grouped with someone different. I observed a general rule that learners from the same country or continent would generally sit near each other in class. By getting the learners to "move about a bit", Simon was forcing them to work

outside their comfort zones. This was not widely embraced by learners who embraced their kin, the main exception being Saare and Sayid who held opposing views on the government of their homeland, one being pro-government and the other supporting the opposition party. When doing group work or working in pairs, the students were never partnered together.

For the first citizenship topic presentation the contents page of the Home Office Citizenship Materials Pack was placed on the overhead projector. Simon explained:

> "Get into pairs, pick a topic and talk about it."

There were five groups and each chose a topic to present including housing, working, education, health and citizenship. All groups were given fifteen minutes to research the topic and then present it to the class.

The first group, Sarah and Amira picked housing. The pair asked "does it have to be about the UK?" to which Simon replied "yes". Within minutes the question was asked again, and the same reply was given. I asked the pair "what are you going to talk about?" Sarah said "I wanted to talk about my house in my country". Amira explained "we will talk about Council houses".

When called for the presentation the pair stated:

> "Council houses can be in a good area, if you're lucky you can have a new one. Sometimes you get a bad house in a bad area and miss the good ones. They are good if you lose your job as they pay the rent for you. To get a Council house you have to fill in application forms and wait years. This depends on the area, as outside of the city centre you can get a house sooner. In the city centre it is five or more years to wait and depends if it is a family with children".

The initial preference for talking about housing 'in my own country', demonstrates the importance of keeping the previous life and experiences relevant in the UK. Like the discussion in the previous section relating to the legal system comparison,

recognising and promoting the differences between the UK and their home countries would recognise the differences, but also highlight similarities. There was a good understanding of the process to get Council housing, as well as the social and geographical differences between houses on different estates. I spoke with Amira following the presentation and she explained that her family had been housed in a number of places while waiting for a house near the city centre, meaning she had a good understanding of the social housing system.

The second group were Layla and Javed. I asked which they had chosen and they replied 'education". I asked Javed what made him choose education. He stated:

> "I attend courses at University for football coaching and analysis. I want to go to University full-time next year".

When asked, Layla said "I don't know much".

When called to give their presentation, Layla began:

> "You get free education primary, secondary and college. You have to pay for University"

Javed continued:

> "Wales and Scotland have different education to England. Can get EMA and adult grants and Student Loans for Uni in Wales. Uni fees are offset by the Government. Education is compulsory the people aged between 5 and 16. After 16 you get to choose the subject you study for two years and having exams and then go onto University for four years. You can do a BTEC for jobs or business in one or two years".

Javed had good experience in dealing with universities in the UK through his attendance at football coaching courses at two UK universities, and this was a driver for him to succeed in ESOL to attend full-time. He had researched the majority of the information for compulsory school age, but during discussions showed a good understanding of EMA and the Welsh Government grants for full time students over 19, which he benefited from. He said that by working nights and receiving grant

payments he was able to complete ESOL without needing to find a day job. By contrast, Layla had very little understanding of the UK education system. At the time of the presentation, she had not had any children and therefore, she explained, had little need to learn about young person schooling.

The third group were Kaja and Saare who had chosen 'Health'. Both Kaja and Saare were researching the topic on the computers in the Learner Resource Centre and returned to give their presentation. Kaja began:

> "The National Health Service was founded in 1948 and is the oldest and largest healthcare organisation in the world. Differences exist between Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and England. But basically they are all the same"

Saare continued:

> "It provides GP and the ambulances. It is funded by tax, so is free, but you will have to pay if you have a heart attack or stroke. GP means General Practitioner and is the first step the treatment and you need to give details on the website and they will tell you your local GP. The GP will come out urgently for the elderly".

For Kaja, the history and organisation of the NHS was the focus of the presentation, particularly identifying the differences between the NHS in each of the four nations of the UK, with there being fundamental similarities between each. Kaja explained that she had been to hospital in England and found no difference between the experience in Wales. For Saare, there was a recognition of the emergency work of the NHS, with some clear mistakes on paying a fee for heart attacks and strokes.

The fourth group were Amiin and Sayid, who had chosen volunteering. I asked Amiin if he had worked. He explained "in my country I had my own shop and sold ladies' clothes". Sayid was on the computer on the Arsenal Football Club website.

When called to give their presentation, Amiin began:

> "Volunteering, you get no money but work experience which will help you get a real job".

Sayid continued:

> "[I] volunteered in other countries before coming to the UK".

Simon said to the pair "sorry guys, you need to do more research".

There was little understanding of working within the UK, and neither learner had worked since arriving in the UK. In addition, while Sayid was researching for the presentation he spent the time solely on the Arsenal Football club website.

Soon after the day of this presentation, the ESOL staff took part in a national industrial strike over pay and conditions. During the Speaking and Listening class the following day Yaya asked Simon "what was the strike about yesterday?"

Simon replied:

> "Who was on strike? What strike? The only thing on strike is normally the photocopier".

Despite spending the previous day on the picket line outside The College, Simon did not give an answer and when pressed after the lesson he explained he didn't want the strike to disrupt today's learning as it did the previous day's. Although it could be argued that given the lesson subject included working in the UK, the inclusion of industrial action within the topic would have provided a practical example for the learners to better understand. Opportunities to expand the understanding of the workplace, would have had benefit, particularly for those who have not worked in the UK.

The fifth group were Kanta and Bruna. The pair couldn't decide on a topic for the citizenship presentation, so Simon nominated them to look at Parliament and the

electoral system, with the suggestion they can talk about either Westminster Parliament or the Welsh Assembly at Cardiff Bay. Kanta replied:

> "We don't know enough to talk about either".

The pair then decided to present on citizenship acquisition. Kanta stated:

> "You need to have general knowledge of the UK. You have to be in the UK for three years, then get naturalised and to like Life in the UK exam. In four weeks from applying they interview you and could give you a certificate. With this you can apply for a passport".

Kanta then explained that she became a citizen through marrying a British husband, but had researched to find out how to become a British citizen.

Bruna finished the presentation by saying "I don't know anything about citizenship". Interestingly, Bruna had no understanding of what citizenship entailed. This was her first year in the ESOL classroom and so a limited understanding of citizenship might be expected. However, it demonstrates the importance of including the subjects from the Learners Pack throughout the ESOL course. None of the learners in the fieldwork had started ESOL at Entry 1, with some like Bruna starting in Level 1 or Level 2. This resulted in a significantly limited interaction with citizenship topics.

For the second presentation Simon said "go to the computers and spend 5 minutes reading about a citizenship topic and present a 'sentence or two' to the class". The responses in these presentations were more concise than the first. Due to the limited 5-minute timescale for the second and third presentations, I did not speak with the learners before their presentations.

Kanta chose Citizenship again, stating:

> "You have to study about the UK, do the Life in the UK Test, then get naturalisation in 4 to 6 months and get citizenship after 2 to 4 weeks. The whole process to get citizenship takes 7 to 8 months and you can get forms from the internet".

For Kanta, there was a theme of selecting the same topics on each occasion when given a choice. Undoubtedly this was due to her familiarity with the topic and therefore it took little research to provide a well-practised presentation.

Layla chose Health stating "you must take daily food and exercise". Sarah chose Health explaining "dreaming is about a daily routine in the UK. If you dream about a dead body, someone will die".

When considering the short 5-minute space for the preparation, it would not be realistic to expect an in-depth assessment of healthcare in the UK. Layla made a short statement on health, which reflects standard advice for health in the UK. Sarah decided to describe the meaning of dreams, specifically making a link between dreaming of death and someone dying. Although the mention of death is somewhat related to health, there was no link to health in the UK.

Javed, Lucie and Samantha gave presentations about education.

Lucie explained "it is important to learn English to teach your kids to make them British", which demonstrates the recognition of the importance of English language learning for not only ESOL learners, but also their families.

Samantha stated "In the Sudan it is high school for 3 years and then University for 6 years".

Simon asked "Samantha, why didn't you do British education like everyone else?"

Samantha apologised stating "I didn't realise". This once again demonstrates the importance of talking about their home country and the difficulty for some learners to distinguish between the UK and home country when operating in everyday situations. Similarly, Saare gave a comparison of his personal life in his home country compared to his experience of the UK

> "In Eritrea you live with family till married and based around religion. In the UK families live separately, maybe because of work and culture. In Eritrea, you have lots of respect for family, there is less respect in the UK as they use cross words with each other".

Like the Learner Pack activity related to comparing laws in the UK and the migrant's home country, Saare provides a comparator from his personal experiences. There is greater understanding and emphasis on the positive experiences of a family life in his home country, opposed to the UK where he notes a distinct lack of respect and that they live separately due to work and culture.

In the final set of presentations when given a choice between citizenship topics and current affairs, there was one learner in the class who gave a citizenship presentation. Once again Simon asked the class to "pick a citizenship or current affairs topic and research for 5 minutes, then present a sentence or two to the class, the topic has to be related to the UK".

Layla chose citizenship education as her topic and explained:

> "The benefit of citizenship education to young people is that citizenship tells young people about their responsibility politically and economically, but also their rights. It is good for confidence and gives people a voice".

Thabo spoke about Afghanistan stating:

> "NATO took copies of the Koran and burned them. Not only did it affect Afghanistan, but the entire world, but it will not change when the troops leave the country".

This choice was also taken by Saare who explained:

> "US troops in Afghanistan were there to secure peace. If you make a mistake, you have to pay a sacrifice…".

The similarity between the views of Thabo and Saare was telling, both chose international subjects which were contentious and included actions which they had very strong views on. When given a choice of citizenship or current affairs, the popular choice was current affairs, specifically topics which had an underlying foreign policy or international implication. Layla spoke broadly about citizenship education, including the rights and privileges it brings; however, she was the only learners to do so. Lucie also chose a current affairs subject, explaining that "Theresa May tried to deport Algerians and she failed", which not only ties into a UK story but relates directly to migrant deportation.

The remaining learners were stopped short due to their choice of non-British topics including 'the girl who cannot make new memories', 'a woman who gave birth to ten children and her husband ran away' and 'the solar system'.

The topic of the subject matter was important, with the 'menu' of the Learners' Pack used as a guide across the twelve menu items for the learners to select from. In placing the choice of subject with the learners, the question of 'what is citizenship?' was being answered by the learners. The options provided were the basis of the "standardised education system" argued by Gellner (1983) and introduced by the Home Office as a 'menu' of subject choices from which to derive material. In each of the first two presentations, the learners were asked to identify with one element of society and associate with it. There are strong elements outlined including 'Parliament', 'getting involved in your community', 'the UK as a diverse society', or

'faiths and beliefs'. For Anderson (1993) these are high culture terms, with the potential for the learner to 'imagine' themselves as part of the community discussing the diversity of the UK, or the importance of faith in society or even the importance of democratic governance.

The selection by the learner, however, was somewhat different. The key statement throughout was made by Kanta and Bruna during the first presentation where, when asked to speak about Parliament and the Electoral System, they stated "we don't know enough about either". The pair presented on the topic of citizenship, where Kanta provided an overview of her experience in gaining British citizenship, followed by Bruna who stated "I don't know anything about citizenship".

Throughout the presentations there was a greater understanding of topics through experience rather than knowledge gained through learning a subject in the classroom using materials such as those found in the Learners' Pack. Practicalities of the Council housing system was described by Sarah and Amira when explaining:

> "If you lose your job as they pay the rent for you … it is five or more years to wait and depends if it is a family with children."

This demonstrated an association with life in the UK which is based on necessity as opposed to a conscious desire to speak to the levels of the 'high culture' described by Gellner (1983), Smith (1998) and Anderson (1993), nor the ongoing debates in society about housing needs, or the supposed housing crisis. The only discussion of these themes came from Layla's presentation on citizenship education. This came in the final set of presentations where she described:

> "The benefit of citizenship education to young people is that citizenship tells young people about their responsibility politically and economically, but also their rights. It is good for confidence and gives people a voice" (Diary)

Similarly, Lucie explained that "it is important to learn English to teach your kids to make them British".

In terms of the debate of nationalism, Layla describes citizenship education as a "benefit" referring to the benefits of it through mentioning the aspirational words such as "responsibility", "rights", "confidence" and "a voice". These are akin to the words portrayed in the Learners' Pack of "society", "diversity", "respect" and "justice" which Smith (1998) associates with terms or ideologies required for societal unity. Furthermore, the sentiments of Lucie's statement that in learning 'English' you are being made 'British' illustrates Gellner's (1983) link between a common language and a sense of belonging. These ideas lend further support to the aforementioned argument by Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) that "language is used heavily to give a sense of belonging".

Of further importance was the presentation by Saare which compared his experience of his home country with the UK. He placed personal importance on living with family until you marry and having a life based on religion, whereas he viewed life in the UK as more separate with 'less respect in the UK'. This provides a stark contrast to the promotion of British culture featured within the Home Office materials which promotes the UK as a holistic and diverse society. However, when asked about his future aspirations, he explained "I want to become British" and when surveyed, stated that he felt accepted into British society.

Where key overarching terms were not discussed, what was discussed was also important. It has been established that the choice of opinions for learners gave way to the discussion of key themes of British society.

Learners such as Kanta, and in particular Bruna, displayed a lack of knowledge of key parts of society and in fact there was an acceptance of no knowledge at all on citizenship by Bruna. This was countered by Layla who concisely presented a topic she had chosen to research, citing a passage which described the importance of "responsibility", "rights" and giving "people a voice". But what of the other learners?

The responses they gave to the topics of citizenship were predominantly aspirational. Javed chose to talk about education, as he had a desire to attend University. He was able to explain the routes to gaining a place at University, although it is conceded with some erroneous information. This does not detract from the goal which he had set himself. In a short presentation, Amiin linked the potential of volunteering with the opportunity to get a better job in the future. When asked, Amiin answered that he wanted to be an accountant, which he saw as a better job than the business he owned in Africa. Despite being second language English speakers, some learners felt that the UK still provides workplace opportunities greater than those in their native countries. Furthermore, most learners surveyed in two further ESOL centres in other UK cities found the economic push and pull factors were key in their decision to leave their home countries.

This section has looked at the primary use of presentations about citizenship topics, opposed to the dominance of worksheets featured in the Learners Pack. As with the overview of the Learners Pack, the next section will look at the use of geography and history in the ESOL classes. Like the presentations featured in this section, the following section also adopts a varied teaching methodology.

Geography and History

The emphasis on geographical patriotism was equally as pronounced within the classroom as the citizenship manual. The celebration of a national day was a big event for The College and during the weeks preceding St David's day, class based activities, events and an ESOL section trip to the Welsh National History Museum (St Fagans) were planned.

Similar to the sport fans with face painted flags within the Learners' Pack, the corridors of The College were decorated with daffodils and the female learners who wore the colour red to lessons were frequently described as "Welsh ladies" by Molly.

The St Fagans National History Museum is renowned for its collection of nearly 60 historic buildings and houses from across Wales, which were carefully removed from their original position and rebuilt at the St Fagans Museum, within the grounds of St Fagans Castle. The museum provided actors who discussed the buildings with learners and gave an abridged history of their significance. The Museum also includes traditional skills workshops including building wooden shelters, making

clay pots and an operational livestock farm. The buildings include cottages, a water mill, a chapel, farm buildings and houses.

All levels of the morning ESOL classes went on the morning of the 1st March, with the later groups attending throughout the day. On arrival, all learners were given a Welsh cake and the Museum had corporate roller banner signage in the foyer with pictures of children and adults from multiple ethnic backgrounds dressed some in traditional Welsh attire. The Level 2 group I was with was separated into groups of 5 and given a worksheet. They followed a sheet based on the site and followed a map of the site.

I spoke with Amiin and asked what he thought of St Fagans, and he said:

> "I do not understand why the houses are empty and people don't live here, it is a big waste." (Diary)

His view was similarly felt by Bruna:

> "It is beautiful here, it is silly they do not let people live in these houses. I want to live here!" (Diary)

I observed the groups walking around; many learners were sitting on the grass in the sunshine or having hot drinks in the café. During the mid-morning, I spoke with Kaja and asked whether she was enjoying the Museum. She said:

> "It is nice not being in the classroom, I have taken lots of photos … it is very interesting seeing how things have changed."

I asked Lucie the same question, she said:

> "No I do not like it. It is too cold and they do not let you sit on the chairs near the fire in the houses."

The lunch consisted of traditional Welsh Cawl served with a bread roll and after walking around the gardens the students started departing. The experiences of the learners were used for the following week during their classes. There were worksheets about St David's Day, which explained the symbolic nature of leeks and daffodils and how parades are held within the capital city of Wales, Cardiff, to celebrate the day.

Further activities included a session of letter writing to a friend about the day at St Fagans. Lucie explained "I did not like the Cawl, it was not very nice. I would like my money back". Hannah told Lucie that instead of writing to a friend, she could write to St Fagans and complain about the Cawl, which she did with gusto. Hannah collected the work in and it was marked and corrected rather than posted.

The celebration of St David's Day and the inclusion of the symbols throughout The College of daffodils, images of dragons and the Welsh flag demonstrated clear nationalist symbolism. This type of imagery is identical to that which was similarly used within the Learners' Pack with the flag inspired face paints. The extent of the imagery within The College, however, was significantly more pronounced and promoted more within the classes. The referral by Molly to female learners in red as "Welsh ladies" actively draws the learner into being able to identify themselves with Wales. This is essentially the type of promotion which Anderson (1993) describes in the 'imagined community' whereby in wearing a colour, learning within an environment adorned with nationalist symbols, the learner can associate themselves as being a part of that culture.

When visiting St Fagans there were features of Billig's (1995) theory of 'banal' nationalism, with the signage featuring minority groups in Welsh attire and traditional Welsh foodstuffs available on arrival and for lunch. More than this, Smith (2002:14-15) dedicates an entire section to the role of "ethno-symbolism", with emphasis placed on "importance of symbols, memories, myths, values and traditions" but also the "cults of heroes and ancestors" which encapsulates the celebration of St David's Day itself.

The roles of saints, dragons and Welsh Cawl fall far more into "the night of time" (Armstrong 1982:i), and therefore more distant an association that can be experienced and understood by learners in the same way as many native citizens.

Underpinning this experience, of course, is the importance of language and ability for learners to comprehend the "myths, values and traditions" described by Smith (2002:15). The requirement for this is argued by Gellner (1983, cited by Blattberg 2006:2) where there is a "need for a people with a homogenous language and culture". The use of language to relay these messages of national identity is long established with Bayar (2010:113) describing it as the "vehicle to bring the people's aspirations and goals in line with those of the elite"; a common language therefore increases these opportunities (Anderson 1983) and helps to "give a feeling of belonging" (Billig 1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11).

This section has provided an overview of how geography and history were taught in The College, adopting methods which ensured learners could visit and experience historic buildings as well as undertake work which was designed to increase

vocabulary and understanding of the English language. These elements are extra-curricular in their application, but remain focused on language and also cultural education. The next section will give an overview of the practical methods to increase the understanding of the criminal justice system in the UK.

Criminal Justice

The criminal justice topic was covered within a Speaking and Listening class. Although the materials provide lower level tasks, the information provided is relevant to all levels of ESOL.

Simon introduced a 'Knowing the Law' worksheet for a role play session. The learners were each given a part in a murder trial. Simon asked for students to nominate themselves to the different roles of a courtroom. Sayid nominated himself as the Judge. He moved to the front of the classroom, moved Simon's bag and sat at his desk, much to Simon's amusement. Sayid smiled throughout the arrangement and organisation, telling other learners what to do and where to be.

Saare nominated himself as the Prosecutor and Sarah volunteered as the defence lawyer. With the main roles of the Court filled, Simon told the rest of the class, all of which were female, to sit together and be the jury. Simon explained, "we're having a murder trial, everyone takes 15 minutes to read the information and then, Saare can start with the case".

During the reading period, Saare asked "what is my job supposed to do?" Simon replied "you have to show that the woman murdered her husband, it's easy". When asked to begin Saare tells the jury, "the woman stabbed her husband while he was in bed, she is guilty". Sarah tells the Jury "the husband had lots of affairs and hits his

wife, he needed it to happen". Arda sits on the Jury and says "she is a brave lady". Simon asked the jury to decide on guilt or innocence. The all-female jury found her guilty, and Simon told Sayid he had to choose a sentence. Sayid said "I don't think she's guilty, so I won't do the sentence". Simon found this amusing and said "then she goes free". The students then returned to their seats and Simon listed useful vocabulary for the learners to note in their grammar books.

This exercise was as much about the interaction and engagement of the learners with the subject matter as it was the subject matter itself. Principally it is argued that using role play the subject matter of the Learners' Pack has not only been described by learners in understanding, but also undertaking the judicial roles within the courtroom. Due to its similarity to most the terms already analysed I will forego the replication of the similar forms of nationalism except to say that of course the ability to 'imagine' oneself as a part of an institution within a role play would occur within any subject matter. The primary importance is like that in the findings of the Learners' Pack as the importance of an understanding and the participation within the legal system as a "central value system which binds people together" (Richmond 1984:5).

General Topics within the ESOL Classroom

Within the ESOL classroom, it was found that there were subjects that could not be considered directly contributing to citizenship. It could be argued that the inclusion of British writers such as Eleanor Farieon and the poem 'If' by Rudyard Kipling provides learners with a cultural understanding of British literature which may be more refined than taught in secondary schools. Each example of a culturally

appropriate resource was straddled by the topics including a biography of Sarah Palin, another of Michael Jackson as well as reading the lyrics to 'sorry seems to be the hardest word' by Elton John.

A specific topic area which caused some confusion within the classroom was a "Thomas the Tank Engine" discussion piece, where learners had to discuss "what do you know about Thomas the Tank Engine?" When the work was handed out Arda remarked:

"But this is what my daughter watches." (Diary)

I spoke to 19-year-old Dominika, and asked if she had heard of 'Thomas the Tank'. She replied:

"No I don't watch silly children's programmes." (Diary)

It would be unfair to state that the topics served no purpose; it could be argued that these topics give an insight into the everyday aspects of British society as opposed to the higher functions of citizenship outlined within the Learners' Pack. These light topics are offset with the inclusion of worksheets on Christianity, which used 'space filling' exercises to explain how British customs are rooted in Christian religion. This brings with it awareness of culture and tradition within their adoptive residence.

More challenging topics such as the national lottery and gambling were employed, with many of the Muslim learners explaining the difference between the UK and their home countries. For some Muslim learners, it gave an opportunity to discuss these topics. Arda explained that the national lottery "is not gambling because money goes to good causes"; when challenged Arda explains that this is what her husband told her as he "buys seven tickets for the lottery every week".

These topics were countered by the inclusion of simple neutral topics such as Tesco magazine articles on composting and global warming, alongside the flooding disaster in the Philippines, and ensured the topics were current and could contribute to the idea of active citizenship. Furthermore, by introducing current affairs into the classroom, teaching staff would ensure that the topics remain topical and relevant.

Writing subjects were particularly difficult for the learners to grasp, with one worksheet giving an account of a man who had a drink with an elderly man at the airport, flew to New York and visited his sister. When he walked into her lounge, the same old man from the airport was sat on the sofa. The students were asked to continue the story. Among many in the class, Javed said "I don't understand what this means", as the storyline was difficult to follow and finishing the story was too hard for many learners who didn't understand what was being asked. Descriptions of American hotels, the arguments between priorities of the economy and environmental conservation were often complex and interesting, but beyond the understanding of the learners. When this happened, the subject of the lesson dropped and the learners focused solely on the language point being taught, rather than the comprehension of the subject or topic.

It was clear throughout the year that the preparation for the exams was key. When asked, Molly said "the students need to get the qualification, so we prepare them for the test as soon as we can". This explained why the preparation for examinations started within the first few weeks of the year starting. During Speaking and Listening classes, the above-mentioned discussions and presentations on citizenship were

useful in getting students to engage in conversation and structured discussion with their peers.

Writing made use of parts of tests throughout the year, and a question or double page example was given to the learners to complete. The topics traditionally focused upon analysing statistics, such as “15-24 year olds’ use of media” and “use of tobacco by students”. These questions would often continue for several weeks and were issued as homework. When expressing his frustration about the work in Writing classes, Javed exclaimed “I could miss months of Writing classes and still not be behind”. The analysis of the information started with broad findings before the students were then told to go into greater and greater detail of the same information repeatedly.

Within the Reading classes, the frequency of previous test papers was far greater. What is telling about these example papers is the subject matter, which is included.

From a 2001 Reading paper, which would have been one of the first produced with ESOL being a route to citizenship rules, there were articles about the need to renew a passport before travelling; a holiday advert for Barcelona, as well as directions for correcting a fault with DVD players. Interestingly, other articles touched on historical events such as the bombing of Hiroshima where the learner is asked whether the article is critical of Japan or America and sympathetic to Japan or America.

Most of the articles and texts within the subsequent literacy texts also had little reference to citizenship or life in the UK. In fact, out of three separate test papers,

other than the mention of renewing passports before holidays, the only other UK related items were information about coastal erosion on the Isle of Wight, an extract about the Tower of London, a text about football in Harchester and Royal Mail service information. Also included within the test papers were details of the American obesity problem, an extract on the harsh Dutch winters, a fact file on the Colorado beetle and the German philosopher Freidrich Nietzsche.

Conversely, lessons also featured many subjects which outlined societal problems within the UK. These included articles entitled "British Education: A Sorry State", "British Adults 'fear youngsters" and "George Michael openly smokes [cannabis] joint in TV interview". The articles within these pieces detailed the difficulties within UK including "increased risk of youth crime" and that "we have become fearful of all children". The article on George Michael states that "cannabis was 'very good for creative people'" and explained that Michael had been "caught having sex on Hampstead Health".

A full discussion of the issues in society is important within any classroom; however, it is argued that the inclusion of such material within an ESOL classroom is not only problematic from a social perspective for learners, but also works contrary to the idea of nationalism which would seek to "exalt one nation above all others" (Griffiths and Vadura, 2013:559). Although it could be stated that this type of 'exalting' nationalism is inappropriate for the classroom, the review of the Learners' Pack shows a strong assimilationist approach. This is certainly reflected in the more recent attitudes of politicians, leading "some mainstream politicians, including British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela

Merkel, to publicly denounce multiculturalism" and begin to follow the path of countries such as France who have an assimilationist policy to integration which seeks to instil the values and beliefs of French society above all others.

Conclusion

The arguments put forward in the Nationalism and Nations chapter make clear the link between language, nationalism and nationhood in creating the conditions for integration and active citizenship. I have argued throughout this chapter that the Home Office materials use nationalistic theories to achieve these aims within the ESOL classroom. The arguments of Gulliver (2011) establish the strong use of nationalistic theories such as Anderson (1983, 2002) and Billig (1995, 1999) as well as Smith (1998) in the delivery of ESL textbooks in Canada, a nation from which the UK is known to take its prompts when developing citizenship education (Khan 2014:6). In each instance of the wide-ranging examples chosen for this chapter, a basis within nationalism has been explored and demonstrated. In fact, the analysis of the Home Office (2010) materials identified that by its existence, the Learners' Pack was an example of state standardisation of education described by Gellner (1983).

The Home Office materials introduced key themes through the material including complex issues such as citizenship, democracy and justice. In doing so, additional issues were introduced to learners such as politics, women in active society, respect and diversity. This is also the case within the materials provided by the example materials and subjects provided within The College. It is evident that there are elements of good practice in the work undertaken by The College in the preparation and delivery of learning materials and activities. The use of role playing sessions to

impart knowledge of the key members of the judicial system in a courtroom, for example, provided multiple layers of information and experience to learners through a practical exercise. In a follow up with learners, there was both an understanding and excitement about the roles they played and the subject matter itself, the differing views ranging from "she was a brave woman" to "there is little justice", demonstrating the often opposing views to outcomes of court cases. It was clear that in giving roles from that of Judge and Prosecutor through to Defence Lawyer and Jury, learners were given a stake in the judicial proceedings. The Home Office materials provided within the Learners' Pack supported this ambition, explaining the roles of key individuals in the courtroom and the wider justice system. However, the introduction of a Court scenario role-play allowed learners to experience the roles rather than just read about them. There was a desire to mix the learners up regularly within the classroom to ensure those from similar ethnic groups did not continuously sit and bunch together. The introduction of group activities and mixing up of ethnic groups meant learners were not only out of their comfort zone, but also had to interact with the other learners.

The participatory activities in Speaking and Listening also included the multiple citizenship and current affairs based presentations. These provided some freedom for learners to discuss areas which they were interested in. For some learners, this was an opportunity to speak about their experience; for example, Javed, who had a long-standing goal of going to University, provided a detailed overview of the financial implications, whereas Whereas Kanta gave an account of her experience in gaining British citizenship which outlined needs such as "general knowledge" and the "Life in the UK exam". It was clear by statements made during the presentations that

learners such as Bruna "don't know anything about citizenship" and this statement was her only contribution to the activity. Although it is accepted that Bruna did not start at ESOL at the lower Entry levels, the importance of each year providing context and information on the larger contextual ideas in society is key. Key instances of nationalism in line with that covered within the Learners' Pack is included within the ESOL year; these are often more inventive and better received than standard worksheets.

However, it was evident that in the most intensive throes of nationalism, be it through iconic presentations or displays of culture and traditional cuisine, learners seem to be unmoved by these displays. In lieu of this, the response to topics of citizenship by most learners was to consider the aspirational and progression potentials for their future which the UK makes possible, almost a type of aspirational nationalism. It is suggested within the Learners' Pack that the materials should be of "interest" to learners (Home Office 2010:v), and it is accepted that for some learners covering similar citizenship topics, each year in ESOL could become monotonous. However, the inventive application of a subject, such as that with the Court case role-play demonstrates how basic topics can be introduced in different ways as the learners' understanding of English progresses. Furthermore, it is argued that the inclusion of themes such as "Thomas the Tank" illustrates there is an opportunity to offset subjects which are of little interest to learners in favour of materials which will meet the integrative needs of learners and support the development of an 'active citizen'. To this end, this chapter has found that much of the subject matter taught within the ESOL classroom covers sporadic and often seemingly language focused worksheets with little subject matter related to the UK or active citizenship.

Although there is strong evidence of best practice with the teacher-chosen ESOL materials for use within the classroom, these cannot be derived or related to citizenship topics or the Learners' Pack.

This chapter has provided both the State replicated and classroom taught examples of how citizenship topics are explained. These subjects have been discussed in terms of nationalism, but also how the learners engage with these topics. It was clear that when given a choice over presentation topics, learners strayed from the suggested citizenship topics and instead increasingly sought current affairs articles, some of which bore no relation to the UK. It has also been demonstrated that although some of the subjects illustrate little reference to citizenship, the methods used to demonstrate citizenship subjects have given learners a practical understanding of the subject matter. As this chapter has analysed how the learners consider the topics in the classroom, the next chapter considers the aspirations of learners and the barriers they experience in their ESOL classes.

7. Learning and Integration

The previous chapter of this thesis outlined the role of the government in producing materials which aim to encourage integration and active citizenship. These demonstrated the intention of the State to try to ensure migrants are able both to contribute to and participate in society, and to reinforce and promote the need for new arrivals to accept and embrace British values and traditions.

By contrast, this chapter considers and analyses the societal barriers which are faced by learners in their attempts to succeed in the classroom and achieve their integration and citizenship goals.

The first section of the chapter will consider the aspirations of the learners, looking at their goals as they enter the classroom and as they evolve throughout the year. Moreover, the analysis includes their views on the extent to which ESOL has supported these goals. However, the barriers detailed do not solely relate to classroom experiences, relating as well to experiences both within and outside The College which impact on integration. Finally, this chapter will address learner experience and barriers which exist in the ESOL classroom, describing those which relate directly to the educational experience.

The aim of this chapter is to identify and explain specific experiences of the learners in the ESOL classroom and wider society. In doing this, the chapter will provide the details on the lives of learners which directly impacts upon their ability to attend class, participate in society and make a meaningful life in the UK. Whereas the previous chapter discussed the methods and practices of integrating and teaching the

ESOL learners about the UK, this chapter not only explains what learners want to gain from their time in ESOL education, but also how wider society prevents learners from achieving what the ESOL materials seek to instil. The aspirations of learners per their own feedback through to the barriers they face will be discussed alongside findings of other research, and the data collected from former Home Secretary, David Blunkett. This will provide a holistic view of the barriers faced and give insight into how these will impact upon the learners.

This chapter will draw conclusions on the barriers demonstrated, providing a comparator to the aims of the government outlined in the previous chapter.

Aspiration in the Classroom

As evidenced by their full-time attendance, the ESOL classes are of the utmost importance for learners striving to achieve their aspirations. The majority of learners who attend ESOL do so with a clear idea of what they hope to gain from the course. This section outlines the aspirations of ESOL learners and discusses whether these aspirations are met.

The reason for learners first enrolling on an ESOL course gives an indication of the goals of learners when they first started ESOL classes. During the first term of the ESOL year, they undertook an introductory survey. Understandably, the overwhelming majority of learners joined ESOL as they wanted to ‘learn English’. However, this was followed by the desire to go to University. Out of the 16 learners, only 2 started attending ESOL classes to apply for citizenship. This was also fewer than those who started the classes to get a job and make friends.

From the first day when the learners introduced themselves and spoke about their future, Akeem wanted to be a football manager; Amina, Samuel and Ruby wanted to be nurses, and Baba wanted to be an accountant.

Akeem, a graduate in electronics from a University in Iran, started an ESOL football team during the previous year. The team was popular with students and Akeem undertook a management role. According to Akeem, I could have joined the team if I lost weight and practiced more. While studying ESOL, Akeem went on training courses to get his FA management licenses, including a residential stay in Liverpool during which he missed three days of classes.

Upon completion of his Football Association of Wales C license, I asked Akeem what he planned to do next. He told me he wanted to go to University to join a sports degree course. I asked if he had applied and he told me he was rejected and that when he called to ask for more details he couldn't understand the staff. Akeem asked if I would call them on his behalf, with him. I agreed and spoke with an admissions officer who explained that Akeem, a graduate from Iran, listed ESOL Level 1 as his only qualification. I asked Akeem why he didn't include his degree on the application. He explained:

> "I do not have a certificate or a temporary certificate. I left Iran before I could pick it up and therefore cannot prove my degree." (Diary)

The University refused to accept any qualification other than the full original document. Akeem therefore gave up on putting his degree on the application. I

suggested asking family in Iran to apply for the certificate; some four months later the certificate arrived and Akeem was accepted onto a sports degree course. Akeem informed Molly of his acceptance to University. Molly was supportive of the degree prospect, but when I asked her about it later she explained:

> "For some Universities international students or those with low English language ability are sought after because they pay more in tuition and cannot make themselves understood to complain…" (Diary)

This was further discussed during a BTEC lesson when the prospects and future career plans of learners were discussed. The College had trained careers advisors who dealt with ESOL students regularly to ensure transitional arrangements were available after they had achieved their ESOL qualification. During the class Molly said:

> "If I came to your country for 4 years and learned your language do you think I could do a degree in your language?" (Diary)

The class said 'no'. Molly explained "it's the same thing here."

From the student perspective, this effort tries to prevent students from moving on past ESOL. During a class on 'aspiration', I spoke to Dominika who varied her career aspiration throughout the year. I asked what career she aspired to do and she explained she would like to go into business, so would have liked to study Business Studies. I suggested she speak to Molly who previously taught on a business course. Dominika replied:

> "Molly will just say stay with The College, do ESOL for the next ten years and never go to University. That's what she says to everyone." (Diary)

Ruby overheard our discussion and told me:

> "I aspire to be a nurse. I could lie about being a nurse in my own country."
>
> (Diary)

I asked Ruby what she would do if they asked to see her qualifications. She replied:

> "I will just say I'm an asylum seeker and my evidence got burned or something." (Diary)

I spoke at length with Molly about this during the year and she highlighted:

> "We are a very close ESOL section, but we have to manage their expectations. If we set them up to fail or give them bad advice, we are not helping them. They need to be patient and not expect too much from themselves too quickly." (Diary)

Despite this, the desire of learners to attend University after ESOL remained, with Faiza describing ESOL as "a guide to the Higher Education" that "leads to a better life". This was further believed to be the case by Karam who described ESOL as "good for University and work" as well as Hannah; "I will be able to finish my study as such as allowed and then I will be able to do the University"[sic]. Following the end of the fieldwork year, subsequent ESOL course promotional material by The College shows ESOL Skills for Life Level 2 as a route to a University degree.

In addition to Akeem, who continued to University to study a foundation degree in football management, a further learner also gained a place at University. Michael, a Level 2 learner in a different class, gained a University place based upon his completion of the BTEC in Vocational Studies as the University would not accept ESOL as a qualification. This lack of recognition by higher education institutions also links to the recognition of the qualification by The Colleges and examination board themselves. The reference by Extra et al. (2009) to the international recognition of language qualifications through the CEFR framework, demonstrates

its importance, but no reference to a level of the CEFR is made by The College in reference to ESOL. This differs from Kingston College, who mark ESOL Skills for Life Level 2 as "CEFR B2". Recognition of ESOL was also highlighted by Samuel. When asked to suggest changes to ESOL he wrote "change the name". I spoke with him about this a month later, and he explained "no one knows about ESOL, no one has heard of it when I work [sic]". I spoke with Molly regarding this and she replied that few employers do understand it, as it doesn't carry the same recognition as many mainstream courses. When asked if it was the first time this had been highlighted, she said it was "a well known issue", but The College were unable to change the ESOL course title, although she stated a preference for an "English for Linguists" or "English for International Leaners" with some benchmarking to a mainstream qualification.

The work of careers advisors and the ESOL tutors in supporting learners through the transition after ESOL was impressive. There were weekly updates sought by tutors on interviews and applications the learners had made, with additional support being given by the learning support centre staff. There was a desire amongst The College staff to ensure that each student had a plan after ESOL; be in a mainstream College course; an ESOL with Business or ESOL with Construction course; a job or a role in the home.

There were some difficulties, particularly for employers, in both understanding and recognising the value of an ESOL qualification. David Blunkett identified this in stating:

> "I don't think employers do rate it. We didn't do a good job years ago or recently to place it alongside other recognised qualifications as something

which would be valued or promoted. That is a great shame…" (Interview)

Furthermore, when asked about increasing the recognition, Blunkett stated:

> "I think there is room to do it, but I think that may connect to taster courses. We could then say to employers that the individual has reached a level, they have a grasp of language which is sometimes better than the indigenous population. This is particularly true in terms of language structures. The taster courses could include the very specific employment need of that individual. When you get into a particularly job people often sink because they don't know the field specific lexis of the profession. We could also use the internet more when people are at a more advanced level." (interview)

These barriers were not only identified by David Blunkett, but also in the case studies of Cooke (2006:64) who detailed the experiences of ESOL learners seeking employment, with little success due to a lack of confidence, a lack of access to the workplace and restrictive immigration statuses. Phillimore et al (2010:18) describes some of these experiences as "a vicious circle emerged whereby those who could not speak English properly could not find a job".

Although ESOL meets the needs for linguistic and social support to learners including the required embedded knowledge of life in the UK, these are not the sole aspirations of learners. This section has found that work and an economic life is a key driver for learners to start ESOL, be it through directly entering the workplace after ESOL or after first attending University. Given these priorities it is clear why The College decided to manage the expectations of learners during the course to ensure a successful transition following the completion of Level 2 ESOL.

However, findings from the fieldwork have described a difficulty for learners in balancing their work with studies and for some, the study of English has been replaced by the desire to start work. Despite the ability to speak at least two

languages and often boasting a keen skill set, much of these opportunities are at a low level, which David Blunkett attributes to a lack of respect in the workplace for an ESOL qualification, despite it taking up to 5 years to complete. David Blunkett stated that

> "I think 5 years is too long. The topics are also repetitive…Only doctors and architects would expect to do 5 years now so it's asking a hell of a lot from people. We need to think imaginatively to see how people can progress and come back to classes for short taster courses to update their skills" (Interview)

Learners are faced with employers who do not recognise a qualification which took 5 years to complete and is based on materials to support the needs of migrants seeking a life in the UK.

The lack of recognition of a 5-year qualification further extended to the educational institutions, where ESOL qualifications were accepted by universities; however, the part time BTEC in Vocational Studies was given weight to the extent that, combined with English language ability, the University offered a place.

This section has looked at much of the ESOL learner experience which underpins what is studied as part of the subject classes. The aspiration of learners is central to why they start studying ESOL, with 'learning English' and greater education attainment, specifically through getting onto a University course being clear priorities. This aspiration was subject to a three-way split in opinion, with the learners, teaching staff and University institutions all having differing views on this aspiration. For learners, there was a believe that after 5 years of studying, English an ESOL qualification with the standard of English attained should be sufficient for University attendance. For the teaching staff, there was a concern that a limited

English capability will mean there is a significant disadvantage for learners. This concern is manifested through the higher tuition fees for international students, combined with an inability to complain and have a voice about the lack of help and support for some international students. It was evidenced through the applications submitted by ESOL learners during the fieldwork that University institutions were offering places based on a yearlong BTEC qualification, with little weight given to the 5 years of ESOL qualifications, although their English language ability was obviously part of the application process.

Whereas this section has considered the aspirations for learners, the next section will examine the experiences and barriers to learners which ultimately impact on these aspirations, but also on how learners live and operate in the UK.

Learner Experience and Barriers to Learning

The first day I attended The College to meet staff after the initial access negotiations was the diagnostic day in September. On this day, potential ESOL learners attended The College and were interviewed by staff, sat a test to place learners in a class or add them to the waiting list with knowledge of at what level of ESOL they would need to enter.

Time spent on the waiting list varied, but the standard time was an academic year. This was due to the full-time ESOL course doing one intake of learners each academic year. The diagnostic day was busy, but I spoke to potential learners in the waiting room. One explained:

> "I went to another ESOL course but it was part time and not good. I want to go here where it is good." (Diary)

I spoke with a further potential student who said:

> "I want to work to learn English. I tried last time but there was no more space so I am wanting to again this year." [sic] (Diary)

Discussing the diagnostic day with Molly stated:

> "We have a high degree of interest in our courses because we are seen as a good centre with a higher than average pass rate and good teaching staff, a lot of people come to… [The College] because they know other people who have studied here…we are linked with other ESOL centres locally and can signpost some to other provision." (Diary)

The desire for learners to learn English and attend ESOL classes was shown by their dedication to attending diagnostic days and also by some waiting for the correct course to become available, be it in a formal FE setting or community provision. The College was active in signposting learners and those on the waiting list to a central information point for ESOL provision within the area, which ensured that a variety of information sources were available to learners with language needs.

I spoke with Akeem who had studied at a different ESOL centre in the area before joining The College. He explained that he had been on a waiting list and went to the other ESOL centre instead, he said it was

> "Very different. It was not good. I do not want here to be like that, it was not good at all." (Fieldwork)

I tried to follow up on the specifics, but he wouldn't say anything further. Later in the year, however, after complaining about the writing classes at The College, I asked again and he continued,

> "They [the other ESOL centre] were very slow. If someone missed lessons they would teach the lesson again for them. We did the same things lots of times…." (Focus Group)

Phillimore et al. (2010:16) found that learners recalled similar experiences with one who "had to wait for six months" and a further learner who said "one year I was waiting for the course" [sic]. Additional concern was found by Phillimore et al. (2010:18) that "in some cases [learning hours were] as low as two hours per week. Some of the respondents mentioned how difficult it was to learn with such limited tuition". The waiting lists for ESOL centres are problematic, particularly for learners who resultantly attend unsuitable ESOL classes and leave after a short period. It is possible for learners who attend an unsuitable course to become disenfranchised by this experience and therefore not engage with classes in the future. Examples of unsuitable ESOL courses for some learners were found by Phillimore et al. (2010:18) where issues related to the number of hours of tuition, which demonstrates the importance of the time constraints of the course being suitable for the learner. An increase in space and the classes available would undoubtedly resolve the barrier of waiting lists. However, it is argued that the ability to do so is restricted by available funding (Paget and Stevenson 2014). This evidence is based on the survey undertaken by Paget and Stevenson (2014:20) of ESOL providers which found that "66 per cent attributed waiting lists to a lack of government funding". During the period of the fieldwork, the introduction of tuition fees was high on the agenda of education authorities in England and this was considered to be a signal to those in Welsh ESOL centres that it is a policy which, if successful, would be rolled out by the National Assembly in Wales.

During a focus group with learners, they were asked whether the introduction of tuition fees for ESOL courses would prevent them coming to classes. Akeem started by explaining:

> "I think it is a good idea. You pay for it and value it more. Lots of people start and then leave, but if they paid they would stay for the year."
> (Focus Group)

Amina, Shakira and Wafa agreed, with Wafa stating:

> "I would pay for it, you must learn English and if you have to pay you should pay." (Focus Group)

This was disputed by Samuel, Oman and Thabo, with Thabo stating:

> "I would not be able to afford to pay. I have no money and could not pay for my lessons so would not come to [The College]" (Focus Group)

Hannah gave a balanced view of the implementation of charges for ESOL:

> "I think you should pay if you can afford it. If you can't afford it, you should pay a little towards it and get the rest free." (Focus Group)

The view of the learners was mixed, but a slim majority expressed the view that charging for ESOL would not prevent them from attending classes. This appeared to be swayed by personal finance with Thabo, Samuel and Baba expressing concern that they would be disenfranchised by any funding reduction to the extent that they would be unable to attend. There was a demonstration of willingness to pay for classes by learners who were financially capable of doing so.

Molly supported this view, believing that government should:

> "Not cut support funding in Wales. I do however agree, that where possible, students can contribute to the cost of their education as it's very important for people to understand the 'cost of education' and not to take it for granted." (Diary)

This was similar to the view of David Blunkett:

> "I think that there is a good case for saying initial courses should be free, but as people progress, as they would with other courses in society, then it is not unfair to charge. But initial entry should be free as it is in everyone's best interests, just as we would want literacy and number courses at entry level be free for the rest of the population. I always use a rule of thumb: what is fair to

> both the indigenous population and those hoping to make a life in UK. If you can square the two you have a reasonable and sensible policy which does not exacerbate prejudice and racism. Instead it addresses society wellbeing. That's always my approach."
> (Interview)

There are some similarities in these opinions. Molly identified "that where possible, students can contribute to their education", with Blunkett offering an example that "as people progress, as they would with other courses in society, then it is not unfair to charge". As a practitioner Molly had a similar experience to Akeem with some learners leaving ESOL during the academic year, as they did within the fieldwork year. For Molly, the introduction of contributions "where possible" would give learners insight into the "cost of education", but also ensure it isn't taken for granted. Similarly, Akeem demonstrated a view that by contributing to their studies, the retention of learners may improve.

Blunkett made an additional interesting point that parity with native learners is important to demonstrate a system of fairness "which does not exacerbate prejudice", but is clear that there is an importance to ensure that learners can achieve a minimum level of literacy without cost. Blunkett's view that ESOL courses are "in everyone's best interest" is agreed with by Paget and Stevenson (2014:37) who claimed:

> "Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, funding for learning was provided 'in consequence of…substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community'. ESOL thus began under the banner of integration."

Action for ESOL (2012:4) share the view of David Blunkett in that "Language education is a public good which contributes to a society as a whole"; however, they also believe that "people who need England language education to live and work in

the UK should have a statutory entitlement to ESOL". Action for ESOL (2012:4) continues to state that "funding needs to be persistent and sustained and not vulnerable to the whims of political administrations … at all times, funding should be based on the needs and aspirations of students". Paget and Stevenson (2014:10-11) highlight their view that "ESOL funding has reduced by 40 per cent in the past five years, but there are large waiting lists around the country … furthermore, the funding system creates perverse incentive, which disadvantage learners at both the lowest and highest levels".

There is a unanimous view among those who examined funding that the cuts to ESOL were of great concern, in particular at preventing those most vulnerable in society from accessing language education. Ashworth (2016) stated that government reports on ESOL funding had "showed clearly that the changes to ESOL would leave women isolated", with Cameron (2016) proposing extra funding in place for females from "isolated communities" to ensure that they have "access to classes, whether through community groups or further education colleges". There is some appreciation from David Blunkett, Molly and learners that changes to ESOL funding may occur, but there is a strong argument that fees should be introduced for those who can afford to pay and also at a higher level of ESOL, ensuring the entry levels remain free.

Great consideration would need to be given to any introduction of a means based system for ESOL funding. In assessing the criteria for funding, particularly in differentiating between those who can and cannot afford to pay, would include an assessment of both earnings and savings. This would be particularly important,

again, for female learners who may be more reliant upon funding from their husbands or family who would, in turn, need to be supportive of this goal. The impact on women by changes in legislation is a key consideration of groups such as Action for ESOL; however, research such as Pattar (2010), indicates female learners are also at risk of being marginalised through their personal circumstances.

During research into ESOL learners, Pattar (2010:8) notes that there was concern from women who "wanted to learn English and get a job but my husband didn't want to go out by myself … he said I didn't need to learn English". It was further stated by Pattar (2010:8) that this female migrant has been accompanied to doctor's appointments by her son due to an inability to speak English, not only giving her the feeling that her confidence was being "crippled", but also as a result her son "did not get a good job" (Pattar 2010:8-9). This demonstrates that the impact of women not finding their own voice has a broad negative effect not only on the female learner's development, but also the lives and development of those they rely on to assist in completing daily tasks.

During a discussion about shopping in a local supermarket, I asked Amina about her shopping experiences in the UK. Amina explained "I go shopping with my eldest son every week. We go to the local shops … he talks for me as he gets very angry and embarrassed when I try to speak English to people as I am not very good". I asked if ESOL had helped with this and she further said "he did not want me to learn ESOL [sic], as he doesn't think my English will be good enough to help, but I want to be a nurse like I was in my country".

The ‘embarrassment’ experienced by Amina’s son was further demonstrated the following month. During tutorial, Amina asked Kate for a day off during the following week to visit her son who was at an Army Camp in mid-Wales. Kate asked what he was doing at an army camp and Amina explained:

> “He wants to join the Army and he does cadets. He is doing a training [sic] at the camp and they have a parade after he finishes. I want to go on the bus with other parents, but he does not want me to because he is embarrassed about me.” [sic] (Fieldwork)

Kate helped Amina plan a journey by public transport which eventually included two trains, a bus and a two mile walk. She was absent for a day and would not speak about the day when she returned.

The experience of Amina was not dissimilar from that of the participant in the research of Pattar (2010:8), which considered the issue of families having, or potentially having, an impact on the ‘ESOL lives’ of learners. In these examples of family attitudes toward English language learning, it was only determination on the part of the learners which meant they undertook ESOL classes. If there were financial constraints on the family or if a female migrant’s husband was required to fund the ESOL course, it became increasingly more unlikely that they would be unable or unwilling to seek ESOL classes. Amina, who said that she hardly ever spoke English outside the classroom, is also likely to experience a barrier to learning through her reluctance to practice English outside the classroom. She explained both the anger and embarrassment her son felt due to her limited language ability and in doing so reduced her confidence and desire to converse regularly in English. With little or no practice outside the classroom, it is unlikely that any improvement in English language will continue outside class or after Level 2 ESOL.

For the ESOL staff, there was a strong emphasis placed on practicing English language whenever possible. During classes and within The College, the learners were required to only converse with each other in English. When speaking in their native language the teaching staff would make a point to ask them to speak in English. This included when learners were talking together in the corridors, in the canteen and while waiting outside the classroom before lessons. During a reading class, Amira spoke in her native tongue throughout the lesson. The teacher stopped the class and said "The door to this classroom is the border to my country, when you're here, you speak English"; Amira stopped speaking, which the class quickly followed.

Considering the need for learners to practice English language, the determination of teaching staff to ensure English is the sole language of the classroom is understandable. Bourdieu (1998b:46, cited by Blackledge 2009:39) describes this as "the rejection of all other languages into indignity", with this suppression of minority language being "a common feature of modern nation-state policy" (May 2001, cited by Blackledge 2009:41).

For the learner, however, speaking their native language holds what Brubaker et al. (2006:241) describes as an "ease and comfort" as there is often "unease or discomfort…felt in speaking a language which is not 'one's own'". For Blommaert and Verschureren (1998b:128, cited by Blackledge 2009:39) this is because "language is the essence of identity". As with the experience of the participants in the Brubaker et al. (2006:246) research, the native language of the learner becomes

"marked" in the public sphere. This results in a balance for the migrant between the emotional attachment to the native language as stated by Brubaker et al. (2006), and the desire to improve their English language skills.

The main findings of this section relate to the administration of ESOL courses. The waiting lists and charging for ESOL courses have caused significant delays for learners, but also for learners not to study ESOL at all. It was clear that the waiting lists are not the same at all institutions, with some willing to wait significant periods for the right ESOL course, opposed to attending any ESOL centre to learn English. However, the role of funding in ESOL met with a mixed response from both learners, teaching staff and the findings of Paget and Stevenson (2014) and Action for ESOL (2012) and Cooke (2006). The research indicates strong concerns about the viability of ESOL, particularly for young and female learners if course fees are introduced. By comparison, there was a recognition by the learners that those who can afford to, should make a financial contribution to ESOL courses. This was echoed by teaching staff who believed it would add value to the course in the eyes of learners, but that this should be on an affordability basis. David Blunkett also agreed with this approach, proposing that initial ESOL levels should be free, with tuition fees introduced in the advanced levels of ESOL.

The concerns about funding cuts disenfranchising female learners is further bolstered by the experiences of Amina, whose experiences have undermined her confidence in using English and withdraws somewhat from society. An introduction of ESOL fees which further place barriers in the path of social integration for female migrants will likely lead to greater separation between them and wider society.

This section has examined the experiences and concerns relating directly to the administration of ESOL courses, as well as the impact of the State outside the realms of education. The next section will outline the non-education barriers which learners experience during their ESOL courses which, it is argued, undermines their ability to thrive in the classroom.

The State and the Learner

The role of the State within the ESOL classroom is well documented in the earlier chapter, where the role of nationalism and nationhood in ESOL materials were examined. The State also plays a key role in the lives of migrants during their everyday lives. In the Level 2 classroom, Thabo was affected more significantly by the State during the year than others and this was attributed to his mistrust of authority due to historic personal issues related to the government of his homeland, which led to his arrival in the UK as an asylum seeker escaping persecution.

The College security doors, good staffing and a close staff and student relationship were intended to promote and enforce the much needed safe and secure environment as described in the integration framework of Ager et al. (2004). However, despite this, for the learners who were escaping experiences of abuse and persecution, the ability to trust authority figures including ESOL teachers was difficult. At the start of the year Molly explained that two years previously there had been a student called Hannah. She had joined The College at E2, and worked her way through the levels until she completed L2 and stayed a further year to take the L2 for Business course also offered by The College. During this period Hannah also volunteered as a

teaching support worker within an E2 and E3 class, with a goal to settle in South Wales. However, officers from the UK Border Agency executed a raid on The College removing Hannah, detaining her before she was deported back to her native Africa.

Because of the raid I was told that many students found it difficult returning to The College through fear that the UK Border Agency could raid the building to remove them. A further understandable and real concern was that The College had informed the UK Border Agency to have Hannah arrested. I explored this with The College, but staff were clear that this would not be the case. On a personal level, the staff who had both taught Hannah and worked alongside her felt great loss. A group of ten staff kept in touch with Hannah following her deportation and decided to each donate money monthly to help Hannah set up a business while in Africa.

In January 2012 whilst I was at The College, a further student (Ahmed) was arrested and, according to some students, this happened on his way home from classes. He was from Gambia, studied ESOL with Business and was taken to Campsfield for 5 months before being deported. His pregnant fiancée remained in the UK and the outcome of his visa application was still pending. The staff of The College, in conjunction with several local charities and organisations with whom Ahmed volunteered, wrote a letter of support and started fundraising efforts. One anonymous teacher stated:

> "For some of our learners coming into College is a big step as they are so mistrusting of authority figures. Some don't even like their name being read out from the register." (Diary)

With this removal, I saw first-hand the upset it caused students. One student said "I did not know him at all, but if he was walking home and arrested it could happen to anyone. I want to know more…". In this instance, it was perhaps the unknown nature of what had occurred rather than the incident itself that was of concern to students. Interestingly, The College reported that the detainee "[was] teaching English to detainees in Campsfield Immigration & Removal Centre while awaiting a decision", clearly demonstrating a desire to continue to practice English. From the learner quoted there was a mixed response; firstly, concern about how quickly the removal can occur, followed by the desire for greater information. This recognises the clear information needs of migrants relating to these matters, but also the insecurities felt by learners, even those who did not know the person removed.

For some learners, however, there is more mistrust in authority due to experience in their home country. Thabo, from Sudan, had come to the UK to escape persecution and have political freedom. In January 2012 Thabo found he had his Leave to Remain confirmed. Thabo brought in chocolates and handed them out during the first lesson at 8.30am. I took one, and then the large tin circulated for a third and fourth cycle; I then politely declined. Thabo looked at me for a few moments and carried on. Yasamin came and sat next to me and told me that if I refuse a sweet which was celebrating good luck, then I am not wishing him well. As Thabo offered the chocolates again I took one leading to a smile. The next day however, Thabo looked unhappy and was an hour late for classes. During break, I spoke with him and asked if everything was ok. Thabo said:

> "I have my Leave to Remain and they have stopped my benefit and told me to leave my house … I now have to find somewhere new to live and get another benefit from the job centre but I cannot get an appointment or understand what they say on the phone…" (Diary)

I asked Thabo if he had spoken to anyone about it in The College, and he explained "No I do not want special treatment; I must sort this myself …". I said that it is normal to find call-centres difficult and offered to help, which he accepted. We sat in the classroom and I relayed the questions and answers back and forth between the operator and Thabo.

The routine questions started with name, date of birth, address, telephone number, nationality. As the call continued, the questions required greater detail. I asked Thabo:

"Have you now, or have you ever been a member of a foreign armed force?"

Thabo took the phone and cancelled the call. He told me "I do not want them to find me. I don't want to tell them where I am." I explained that the job centres asked everyone the same general questions and that there was nothing to worry about. He allowed me to call back. I went through the same questions with Thabo again, which included "Do you own any property in the UK or abroad, if so what are the details?" Once again Thabo takes the phone and ended the call and said "I do not want them contacting my home and telling them where I am". I told Thabo that the Job Centre merely wanted to know if he has assets; they didn't want to tell anyone in his country where he was living. Thabo once again allowed me to call the job centre helpline and this time complete the call. The result of this was a face-to-face appointment at the Job Centre within days and thus gained access to the benefits he needed. When asked, David Blunkett made an interesting observation about this experience:

> "The student would find these offensive. I mean, who laid those questions down. I'm really surprised by this. If no one was there, it would have blown

> them away. I believe that in a highly developed intelligent community, we can do the due diligence on an individual in a sensitive and reasonable fashion. Who is going to answer 'yes'. It takes me back to the American question 'are you or have you ever been a member of the communist party?'. Its about designing what you do to authenticate the individual and verify they are being truthful, but those questions are not the way. " (Interview)

This is a key issue, particularly in that Thabo had not told The College and remained adamant that he did not want anyone to know. He was immensely private around authority figures, including those he had known for some years. Following such strong concerns regarding the questioning that he ended the call twice, it is unlikely he would have either called back or asked anyone to call on his behalf as he knew the questions that required answers. The reassurance and assistance helped through this process, but did not change the level of anxiety clearly experienced by Thabo. If he were not able to claim benefits, he would not have been able to attend college or provide his own housing resulting in further vulnerability. Although with support this barrier was avoided, there is the potential for instances like this to re-occur.

It was clear the system, post-gaining Leave to Remain, was not ideal. In total, from the day of this phone call, Thabo was absent from College for nearly 3 months while he sorted out his benefits and found a house to move into. The idea of losing a house and benefits the moment you get Leave to Remain in the UK was a retrograde step to the inclusive and integrative model of citizenship currently practiced. David Blunkett concurs:

> "I would have thought the philosophy of the right would have been to facilitate independence, and the left would have been 'we are mutual human beings'. The two would come together by saying you need a roof and to be able to feed yourself now we've granted long term residency to become part of the country and help you do it.
> If I had my time again, I would set up a social contract. I would say to people who have applied and been granted leave to remain, you have made a choice

> which few of us made and that was a real positive for the host country and the person." (Interview)

This makes the initial celebration of getting Leave to Remain almost bitter sweet. Thabo was being told he could remain in the UK indefinitely, but in doing so would lose his current benefits and place of residence. The absence of nearly three months to sort this affected his growth and development within ESOL and in turn not only impacted educationally, but also socially. The social approach of ESOL and the definite feeling of family it enjoys means that those who have studied it for the full 4 to 5-year period have built up networks and friendships which can easily result in isolation when having to take extended absences for these practical and personal issues. In gaining stability and security through Leave to Remain, the life of a migrant is thrown into chaos to such an extent it impacts upon the very classes which were designed to facilitate integration.

The mistrust of authorities and other organisations by migrants is a well-documented phenomenon, with the European Commission (2015:5) stating that disseminating information can be difficult due to being "mistrustful of authorities and other actors". This view is corroborated by Pereira et al (2012:11), stating that "refugees often had more generalized fears, having typically been mistreated and abused by the governments of their home countries in ways that bred mistrust of any government entity".

As the previous section considered the impact and views of educational barriers on learners, this section has centred upon those barriers experienced by learners which are not directly related to the ESOL classes. The main finding from this section has been the impact of the Home Office and the Job Centre Plus on the lives of ESOL

learners. The work of the teaching staff to ensure that learning spaces are safe and secure areas for learners was significantly undermined by the raid and subsequent arrest by the UKBA, which occurred before the fieldwork year. This raid had occurred two years prior to my research taking place, but it was still something discussed by both learners and teachers in The College. The longstanding impact of this raid was further felt following the arrest of an ESOL learner on his way home from classes. During the periods of raids and arrests, the atmosphere showed a marked change, with learners who were mistrusting of authority figures. Teachers and College staff are representatives of the State and the authorities in the same way the UKBA are considered representatives of the State; undoubtedly there was a distinct concern that The College worked with or at least knew of the UKBA plans.

For the teaching staff, the impact was also significant. There was a great sense of responsibility from the teaching staff for the learners who were arrested and deported. In the first raid with the arrest on site, the financial and emotional support offered following the deportation shows the depth of this responsibility. Following the arrest of Ahmed, there was a distinct level of organisation and co-ordination in letters of appeal, providing emotional support and ensuring his rights are protected.

In contrast, the experience of Thabo was more isolating. His experience in attempting to access financial support was significantly hampered by the questions and procedures of the State. He had not sought support from staff as he considered it a private matter, but the questions asked were a significant barrier to the support he required. David Blunkett stated that “if no one were there to explain it would have blown them away”, which is supported by the reaction of Thabo throughout the phone process. Furthermore, Thabo took a significant period out of the ESOL

classroom, which Kate stated was a common occurrence. The previous chapter has argued that the State adopt the tools of nationalism to promote integration. This section has shown that other activities of the State undermines this goal. Undoubtedly, the role of the State in the lives of ESOL learners is undoubtedly significant. However, equally as significant are the lives of ESOL learners outside the classroom and in wider society. The next section explores the significant impact wider society has on their ESOL classes and, by association, their success in achieving meaningful integration in society.

Cultural and Social Experience

It was a routine for Akeem, Samuel, Baba and Thabo to bring in their own newspapers to the classroom. Each Monday and Tuesday morning before and during tutorial they would sit in a row together and read the newspapers. The newspaper of choice was generally The Sun. I asked Akeem why he normally bought The Sun; he told me the newsagent called it 'the nation's favourite newspaper' and so most British people read it. I asked if it was a good newspaper to read, to which he replied 'no, but it's easy to read'.

Sometimes 'The Metro' would appear from the learners' bags, although the reason for this was that it was given away free outside The College each morning. One of the notable things during this period was the number of stories which appeared on the front page of The Sun newspaper on a more than regular basis which mention migration, immigrants and asylum seekers. Allen and Blinder (2012) studied UK newspaper headlines from 2010 to 2012, covering the period of this fieldwork. The findings indicated a prejudice towards migrants in the reporting by the mainstream

media, including the most common descriptor related to 'immigrant' being 'illegal' and also associated strong links with the terms "terrorist, suspected and sham" (William and Blinder 2013:3).

This works contrary to the attempts of nationalism discussed in the previous chapter, with a direct relationship with Anderson's (1993) theory of the imagined community which details the use of media and newspapers as a way of identifying with and sharing similarities with other citizens across the country. The importance placed on the media by Anderson (1993) in creating an imagined community demonstrates the impact it has on wider society. The media can both unite and fragment society along ethnic lines through the promotion of a negative view of migrants in society.

For one learner, Omar, the negative view of migrants offered in the press was also reflected at home with his neighbour. Following a strong start to his ESOL year with high attendance and an aim to start a business, it became apparent in December 2012 that he was seldom attending classes. Beginning as a regular attendee, by the start of December he had not been seen for 4 weeks in lessons. I assumed that, like many learners, he had begun working full-time and therefore needed to leave ESOL classes due to these new commitments. He had often spoken of opening a new mobile phone shop locally, using products sent from his native Pakistan.

After contacting him, he said that he had left College due to a racist incident against his family while he was at College. He explained that while in College, a neighbour who had previously told him to "go back to where you came from", had started banging on the door. His wife and young child refused to answer the door through

fear. The neighbour returned and the incident escalated. Omar had become fearful that a similar occurrence may happen in the future and therefore refused to leave his home to attend ESOL classes.

I asked Kate if this was frequent. She explained that she has had four students who have previously been the victims of racial abuse. One was only uncovered after a free writing session in the ESOL writing class. When asked to write about something they were worried about, a student explained how his neighbour had regularly abused his family for being foreign to the extent that he and his wife had been attacked. For Wallace (2006:75), the free-writing tasks are important for this reason, as "only as authors are students able, as Widdowson (1992) puts it, 'to provide an interpretation', to 're-author' texts in the light of the ever-changing circumstances in which they are encountered and made sense of". In this instance, the information from the free-writing was passed across to the Police for investigation. If ESOL classes hadn't asked the students to write about something worrying them, the true circumstance may not have been known. Once known, The College offered support services to soften the impact of the abuse to the family unit.

This topic was further covered by a support teacher who took a reading class due to staff absence. Originally from Poland, the teacher explained to the class that she had been in her flat and heard young men in the street outside shouting abuse at her and emptying a bin onto her car as it had a Polish number plate. She asked if any of the students had been a victim of racism before. Thabo, Akeem, Yasmin and Wafa raised their hands. Kasia asked for an explanation of what had occurred, but only Wafa was willing to explain:

> "I was walking along … talking to my husband ... some men were shouting at me. I turned around and it looked like one was waving, so I waved back and shouted 'hello'. My husband grabbed my arm and asked whether I heard what they were saying. I said no, and he said they were telling me to go home and sticking fingers up at me." (Diary)

Although Wafa had no knowledge of what was being said and it did not cause the same level of distress as Omar experienced, it highlights that even on a main public street, racism is a part of some learners' lives. Wafa's husband was reluctant to allow her to walk to College through the town alone, and would often accompany her to College.

The impact of both ordinary and extraordinary examples of racism on learners was key to their integration into British society. Whilst there is resistance from the community to accept migrants, a divide will always exist between those born or educated in an area to those who have recently settled.

The research undertaken by Pattar (2010:13) found similar experiences of racism in the everyday experiences of migrant learners with one explaining "Where I lived before, people didn't like us … shouted at me and my children and many times said, 'go back to where you belong', I was very scared; some days did not go out of the house. I prayed to Allah for my children's safety". The second migrant interviewed said "It was like living in hell … whenever we went out the teenage boys called us names, made fun of our language, sometimes they blocked our way to our flat. When made complaints to their parents, they ignored … then we decided to move near my auntie" (Pattar 2010:13).

The Home Office report of Ager et al. (2004:3) into integration found "Experiences relating to racial harassment and, more generally, fear of crime was initially reflected across different domains of the framework", which led to a section of "safety and stability" was included as a "facilitator" in their "Integration Framework". The report also placed an emphasis on the importance of "continuality and a sense of permanence" and the need for migrants to "Have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship".

Ager et al. (2004) identified the experience of racism as a barrier to integration, also outlining the importance of language and cultural knowledge. The experience of the male learner highlights this issue which leads to him leaving the ESOL class. This demonstrates the significant impact this had on his ability to integrate, but also for that of his family, including children, who live locally. Similarly, Pattar (2010) found that verbal abuse led to migrant families moving to different areas and living in fear. For Wafa, the racism experience did not have a significant impact on her life, but demonstrated migrant exposure to attitudes and behaviours which create barriers to both learning and integration.

Many of the learners featured in this research had witnessed or suffered some degree of racism during their time in the UK. For some, such as Wafa, the experience was less extreme, principally because she was unaware what was said until after the incident. However, for many such as the male learner featured, the experience significantly impacted on both his ESOL career, but importantly the personal life of

both him and his family. This thesis focuses on the lives of ESOL learners and in this experience the impact of this racism led to a prevention of integration, but further than this it has pushed the learner out of the mainstream and into the fringes of society.

The work of the State and wider society to integrate and support migrants is once again undermined by the actions of individuals, much like, although in a different way, to that of the UKBA. With theories of unity through an imagined community related to daily activities such as reading newspapers, it is also conceivable that there is a potential for an imagined community for migrants who similarly experience degrees of racism could exist. In addition to these social pressures, the importance of family and the personal lives of learners is clearly stated by the male learner within this section. A key part of the personal lives of learners is, of course their family. Furthermore, this chapter has thus far also criticised the need for learners to take time out of ESOL classes due to the post-Leave to Remain experiences for learners. The next section will look at both factors; the pressure to meet their family's needs, but also their commitment and attendance in ESOL classes.

Work and Attendance

Hashem (2009) highlighted the pressure on learners to seek work, particularly for those on fixed or low incomes because of their immigration status. The teachers and staff involved in ESOL are aware of these issues and the work they undertake with career advisors and the pastoral interviews given to learners are intended to ensure that a healthy work and life balance is maintained.

Most male learners who could work in the UK did so, and the pay for entry level posts was often higher than the average pay of some of the countries of origins. The attraction of paid work during studying was clear, particularly for those learners with families.

Samuel had a profound respect for the teaching staff and said his goal was to be "a good Christian" as he explained in a Speaking and Listening presentation. Samuel had a wife and child and worked in one of the local nightclubs collecting glasses from tables. He was often tired during classes, but found that working nights was the only way to ensure he had enough money to support his family.

Often he would comment on how much both men and woman drink when they go out at the weekends and the more revealing clothes than you might see on a night out in Eritrea. During the year I was with him in ESOL, there was only one night that he missed work, when the nightclub he was working at had a woman dressed in a two-piece underwear set with a large snake wrapped around shoulders. Samuel said that "the snake was a biblical image of evil and deceit" and therefore the UK was not a true Christian country "if it allows women to have evil and deceit over them".

The ability to immediately earn money with little requirement for strong English Language skills meant taxi driving was an appealing career. When I spoke to Salim about why he works as a taxi driver he explained, "I have to work all through the night to afford coming to classes [sic] and feeding my family". This was not an uncommon occurrence, with male students such as Akeem, Samuel, Baba and Tariq

all working extensive hours throughout the night to support their families and ensure they can maintain their ESOL attendance.

Kate identified that:

> "Sometimes for the male students the pride and ease of earning money, even in the entry level jobs, are too appealing and means they leave ESOL." (Interview)

This was the case for both Salim and Tariq who left ESOL and expanded their work as weekend taxi drivers to working throughout the week to earn a wage. Although The College offered different hours and more flexible working, they decided to work full-time instead. I met with both Tariq and Salim several times outside the ESOL classroom to see how they enjoyed driving taxis. I expected their English to have improved significantly through the constant interactions with members of the public. Although both could speak English, the phrases were common to taxi drivers, for example asking about a location or for a name, but attempts to speak in any depth were met with a smile, laugh and nod, but no answers. The types of learning available between The College and a place of work was always going to be very distant; however, it was clear that when driving a taxi full-time the learners would be unable to develop their English skills dramatically. It was noticeable that taxi drivers from a similar ethnic background tended to speak with one another in their native languages. This reinforces foreign language use and again limits the situations and type of English language being spoken.

The movement of learners out of the classroom and not continuing their ESOL studies is a clear barrier to their learning, although it could be argued that ESOL then becomes a victim of its own success. Also, the support by The College of working

learners demonstrates the ongoing concern for learners who work long hours. This concern is also described by Hashem (2009:1) who found that men felt "overstretched [by] time commitments, family responsibilities and work duties". Two learners featured in the research of Phillimore et al. (2010) provided practical examples of why learners chose to work. The limited financial position of a male 21-year-old migrant who stated "I was receiving £32 per week and that was for my food and other costs" (Phillimore et al. 2010:16), is further supported by a male migrant aged 27 who found that "life was very difficult with £30 which they were giving us. You have to buy books, pens, clothes and food. That £30 was not even enough for food … (I gave up English course, because) I decided to work and earn money by myself instead of receiving from the government, because we couldn't survive with it" (Phillimore et al. 2010:17). This reinforces the issue of economic pressure and requirement to earn additional money as a barrier to ESOL learning and therefore by the government's own aims, a knowledge of life in the UK.

The importance of financial security has been identified as a foundation of integration in society throughout this section. The responsibly for learners to provide for their families, ensure they can pay their rent and strive to improve their economic and social position is no different to most others in British society. Where their immigration status permitted, learners were often working long hours outside their ESOL studies. Most of these jobs are in the service industry and involve anti-social hours and often dealing with intoxicated people through work in bars, in taxis and security work.

The teaching staff made clear that the attraction of regular income is a key draw for ESOL learners and during the fieldwork learners did leave the classes in pursuit of full-time employment. Phillimore et al (2010) evidence detailed findings of the limited finances some learners experience. Some learners balanced this by missing classes to earn a greater income. This had significant implications for the learners' progression and, although some spoke English at work, most explained they work with others from their community and speak in their native language.

The difficulties featured in this chapter, including course fees for ESOL and difficulty in claiming financial support will only seek to increase the financial constraints on learners and drive them out of education and into entry level service roles.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted key barriers in the lives of ESOL learners which impact upon their studies. It is clear from the fieldwork findings that learner experiences are very individual; however, many share basic similarities with other research within the field. The aspirations of ESOL learners in society demonstrate an aspiration related almost entirely to careers, jobs and accessing further and higher education institutions. For the development of English language skills, there are few other courses which would provide the required skills and expertise. However, as found by the learners in the field and confirmed by David Blunkett, there is little recognition of ESOL both in educational institutions and the workplace.

The acknowledgment of Level 1 and Level 2 qualifications do relate directly to an educational standard; however, this is not appreciated in the workplace.

The experience of learners achieving a place at University based on the outcome of a minor BTEC over completing the 5 year long ESOL course diminishes the learner's sense of achievement; therefore, a greater recognition of the importance of ESOL as a qualification and the skills it can bring to the workplace.

The issue of waiting lists has been linked to the issue of funding within ESOL. Although funding was not a key issue in Wales during the research, it was an issue which was likely to be addressed in Wales and as such worthy of inclusion to gain the views of not only the Level 2 and staff, but also David Blunkett.

The importance of ESOL classes for migrants was argued clearly, with organisations such as Demos and Action for ESOL clearly advocating for fee-free classes due to the importance of migrant integration into society. This is supported somewhat by Blunkett who suggested retaining Entry Level classes at no cost, but implementing a charge for the more advanced Level 1 and 2 classes.

By a slim majority, The College learners were supportive of fee charging in ESOL classes, linking it with greater commitment from learners if they are paying. This was echoed somewhat by Molly, who instead suggested a means-tested system of fee payment. The experience of Amina in the fieldwork demonstrated the difficulties of some female learners in accessing classes through pressure by family members. The findings of Phillimore et al (2010) recalled similar experiences but with both a

husband and son. The importance of these examples in relationship to ESOL funding is how a means test would impact upon female learners. By considering a household or couple's income, there is potential that a learner would become dependent on an unsupportive or controlling partner for ESOL course costs.

The issue of funding is not only widely contentious, but also demonstrates the significant role that the government has in the lives of migrants. Further evidence for this is found in the experience of the impact upon learners by raids within The College and the removal of learners when either at College or travelling to or from an institution.

The previous experience of learners, in some cases escaping persecution, makes it more likely that they experience further alienation or mistrust of the government and authority. This mistrust results in reluctance by learners, such as Thabo, in engaging with government agencies.

The result of this in Thabo's case might have resulted in further social vulnerability through not engaging with any support services. Not only would this detrimentally impact upon his education, it would also create adverse conditions for successful integration. Also of note was the significant upheaval that being given Leave to Remain had on Thabo's daily life. The removal of housing and benefits in quick succession and the need to find new housing and arrange new State benefits caused upheaval in the everyday life of Thabo and caused significant absence from the ESOL course which is designed to aid his integration into society. There is therefore a theme of contradictory messages from the government to ESOL learners; the desire

of the government is to integrate migrants through language learning, but this is offset by the Border Agency raiding ESOL centres and making arrests on the way back from classes. In addition, the lack of understanding and care when asking questions of migrants seeking benefits through the job centre brought about the very real possibility of the learner becoming economically isolated. Furthermore, becoming economically isolated, as well as the lack of support and need to take time out of ESOL to bridge the housing gap between NASS housing and private housing when granted Leave to Remain. In this fieldwork, it was found that this upheaval had not only a significant impact on ESOL learning, but also on the confidence of the learner to adapt to his changing circumstances.

This confidence is further undermined by the role of society in how migrants are viewed and view themselves. This reflective view of society is further demonstrated through the daily reading of newspapers which make strong references over the fieldwork year to migrants and immigrants as “illegal” or related to “terrorist, suspected and sham” (William and Blinder 2013:3).

These ideals are contrary to the beliefs and values defined in the previous chapter and it is apparent that these experiences are a barrier to ESOL acquisition and the desire for integration into wider society.

The aspirations of migrants and the barriers they face have been the focus of this chapter, but have been placed within the context of the previous chapter referring to the aims and goals of the State in integrating migrants and by doing so, renewing the nation. The discussion and analysis of the key findings of this thesis will be the subject of the next chapter.

8. Discussion and Analysis

This chapter draws together the arguments put forward throughout this thesis and reintroduces the arguments made within the literature review, placing them within the context of the primary research featured in the previous chapters. This begins by revisiting the use of nationalism within policy, and how this is experienced by learners in the classroom. This is achieved through reducing the chapter to key themes found in the empirical research; language and cohesion, understanding British values, experiencing British culture, knowledge of British society, barriers to integration and ESOL testing and funding. The chapter will then consider the educational and economic drivers for ESOL learners.

Language and Social Cohesion

The Home Office report by Shaw (2002) found that the 2001 riots were not perpetrated only by those who were first generation migrants, but also those who were second and third generation migrants, some holding British citizenship. This is symptomatic of two features found within this research. The first is the attraction of ESOL to many who have children who were either born in the UK or migrated with their parents to the UK. By introducing 'British values' to parents, the children will also have a better understanding of British society as stated by Lucie, when presenting the link between English language and Britishness. The second is the relationship between parent and child. Pattar (2010:8) found children were playing a fundamental supporting role to the parent, with a distinct role reversal, in one instance to the extent the mother felt "crippled". During the fieldwork, this was also experienced by Amina, where the son would speak for her in shops. However, there

is a distinction between the use of family to support access to services such as healthcare, as was the case for Pattar (2010), and the experience of Amina where her son translated in shops as "he gets very angry and embarrassed when… [she tried] to speak English". In addition, Amina's son attempted to prevent her from attending an army cadet event as he would be embarrassed, demonstrating a personal cost of language barriers and being torn between the culture reflected at home and the one he experiences in his daily activities. For Pattar (2010), a reliance upon the son for translation led to limited career opportunities and poor employability.

When examining the cause of the 2001 riots, factors such as "education and employment" were underlying causes, which was reinforced by The Muslim News (2002, cited by Shaw 2002:17-22), along with a "lack of proper housing and racial and religious discrimination". In the experience of Pattar (2010) young people are being disadvantaged in employability; however, for the son of Amina, the evidence is of an increasing isolation.

The relationship between the rioting and the creation of an ESOL policy is debatable, with the former Home Secretary David Blunkett stating "I have never said or implied that lack of fluency in English was in any way directly responsible for the disturbances" (Blunkett 2002:7, cited by Blackledge 2006:76). During interview for this thesis, Blunkett expanded upon this giving reference to his "background in education" as a lecturer and his time as Education Secretary. He explained that the introduction of citizenship classes in school coincided with the increasing levels of immigration in the UK. The two factors combined under a backdrop of changes in

citizenship policy, a change in equal opportunity policy and the need for a language facility.

Although Blunkett has consistently argued that the disturbances were not "directly responsible", he conceded in interview that there was a need for a language policy and migrants were being disenfranchised both socially and economically through a lack of investment in a robust educational system. Furthermore, Blunkett supported the findings of the Home Office (2002) relating to community fragmentation and social exclusion.

The introduction and development of language policies against the backdrop of social exclusion and integration ties in closely with the theories of nationalism which, it is argued, underpins language legislation.

The content within the Home Office materials covers topics which may differ most between life outside the UK and life within the UK. The list of "things that help you feel you are part of the UK" describe the everyday parts of life in the UK, first with "understanding English", but subsequently also having "friends and family that live here", "having friendly neighbours", "having a job" and "voting in an election". The description adopted for this, such as 'understanding English', 'voting in an election' and 'having a job' are all features of participation in the UK which are linked to social and economic activity as well as citizenship. These features are chosen by the State, where it sets the terms which "help you feel part of the UK", thereby also defining exactly what the UK would expect from learners to be "part" of it (Home Office 2002:10). These terms reiterate the features prioritised by Blunkett (2002,

cited by Shaw 2002), with language acquisition being linked to work, democratic responsibility and social inclusion. However, this research found varied reasons for learners' coming to the UK, with some escaping persecution and arriving without friends or family. The lack of social and familial networks is likely to be isolating for the learners, further entrenched by its inclusion in a list of things which make you 'feel part' of British society. This is demonstrated by Javed, who came to the UK with no friends, instead relying upon the networks established in classes. This network relied upon other learners and teaching staff, describing one of the staff as 'more than a teacher' and more like a friend. Once the ESOL course was completed, it was less likely that he would see the ESOL staff and learners as often, weakening these bonds. In addition, the other terms described within the Home Office (2010) Pack, including 'voting' will encourage citizenship, but also create a barrier to integration by splitting learners into those who have voting rights and those who do not. It does, however, encourage citizenship acquisition and promote the responsibilities of ESOL providers to engage learners in the democratic process.

Where social exclusion exists, the "personal exchanges" proposed by Couture et al. (1996:11) are limited, as is the "potent sense of community and shared consciousness" described by Croucher (1998:646). Both are barriers to the "imagined community" which Anderson (1983) argues is the basis on which nations and nationalism is founded. The idea of doing tasks such as voting, reading newspapers, and discussing current affairs allows the learner to imagine a nation of individuals performing similar activities, which is fundamental to Anderson's (1983) theory. The description of Anderson's (1983) theory by Ozkrimli (2000:147) as a "mass ceremony" that "is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions)

of others" quantifies the unifying power of these everyday acts. For Amina's son, his mother's inability to participate in these everyday acts is a symbolic barrier between a home life where English is a second language, and the public life in the UK, where it is the everyday language.

This 'mass' undertaking of everyday occurrences is reliant upon linguistic harmony. This feature is not isolated to Anderson (1983), as each competing, and perhaps conflicting theory of nationalism, holds language at its core.

This section has examined the issue of language and social cohesion, detailing the experiences of both learners and their families. This has included the role of ESOL materials within the classroom and the criteria of the State for learners to 'feel part' of the UK. This has been reviewed, alongside the difficulties in integration faced by learners both in and out of the classroom.

The following section will consider use of British values within the fieldwork, and how this has been received by the learners, drawing on literature and theories from the literature review.

Understanding British Values

The Home Office Pack (2010) makes reference to other terms which bolster inclusivity through highlighting what the State views as the basics of British society, such as "respect", "diversity" and "justice". The inclusion of these terms, including "justice" begins the introduction into a "central value system", which Richmond (1984:5) argued acts to "bind" individuals together under a social contract. This is

further argued by Smith (2002:14-15) where the emphasis is placed on a system of shared values and culture. From the understanding of 'keywords' within the citizenship section, the subsequent categories and worksheets underpin these terms and demonstrate their meaning.

The importance of 'voting' is reflected within the material related to Parliament and the electoral system. From this basic introduction, the pack delves deeper into the processes and structures of the British political landscape. These worksheets do not only cover the democratic elements of British society, but also British values.

The introduction to the role of the MP includes a series of questions regarding female MPs, from understanding the history of women sitting in the House of Commons to the number of female Ministers the UK has. The task that accompanies the section is significant to developing a greater understanding of British society. By requiring the learner to research facts about the role of women in British political life, learners are taking ownership of the topic as they put, in their own words, the facts surrounding the role of women. By asking "Do you think there should be more women MPs?" (Home Office 2010:38), the State materials are drawing out the opinions of learners within the classroom, an environment where ideas can be explored and, where necessary, challenged. These materials continue onto the UK voting system, where the suffragette movement is covered, with a biography of Emily Davison which highlights her high level of education, her role as an educator and imprisonment, as women were prepared to break the law to get the vote (Home Office 2010:87).

Within a classroom environment, the inclusion of Davison as a teacher places her in an authoritative context, which is further reinforced by the success of her campaign. The importance of a vote for women, and particularly the change of the law through unlawful action, is significant. For those learners who had no previous voting rights in their home country, combined with the inclusion of a biography of a historically significant female figure whose protests effected great change, this provides a context and statement of their rights within the UK once citizenship is gained. This promotion encourages citizenship, but also increases the prospect of female learners seeking equality in British society. During the fieldwork, a female teacher highlighted instances where male learners had taken issue with being taught by a female. By explaining the history of women's rights in British society, the Home Office (2010) Pack, seeks to change these attitudes, or at least promote parity between genders.

The dominance of women in British society within the State sponsored materials extends beyond the political sphere, as the materials cover British history. Here too, a dominance in power, influence and the history of women are at the forefront of the topics covered. The inclusion of Queen Victoria, as the Head of State of the UK and a range of other countries, "including large parts of Africa" (Home Office 2010:91) allies not only with the longstanding history of migrant learners who have come from the African continent, but also those learners who have lived or worked in other Commonwealth or former British Empire countries. With Smith (1993:3) describing "memories and symbols" as tools for "widespread loyalty and devotion", the inclusion of this shared historic and symbolic royal figure will be recognised by many learners from former British Empire or Commonwealth countries. Although

Smith (1993) was describing the foundation of a nation through a single set of remembrances, I would argue that the intrinsic linkages between the UK and other countries throughout the world ensure that a commonality exists which is drawn upon to create the "sense of community" cited by Dedaic (2015:6, Weber 1948 and Anderson 1983). The hierarchy of the nation and symbolic role of the Head of State for the UK not only promotes and solidifies the link between the UK and other countries, but also the role these countries, and their citizens, have played in the history of the UK. In contrast to the historical links with other nations, the learner pack also provides a bold overview of the flags of the UK nations during sports events.

The use of flags within a sporting context exemplifies the "remembrance of a nation" and draws a focus on what would normally be, for Billig (1995, 1999) a 'banal' symbol of the nation (Gulliver 2001:121, citing Billig 1995, 1999). The inclusion is deliberate, with Gulliver (2011:119) stating that "English as a second language textbooks often participate in banal repetitions of nation-ness and nationalism", which it's claimed often "takes the form of the marking of the nation through flags". By framing these everyday symbols within a sporting context, it is an inclusive demonstration of nationalism. The use of flags from each of the UK nations, rather than, for example, 'Team GB' in the Olympics, demonstrates the ability to be united within the United Kingdom and rally under the symbolic flags of individual nations. This demonstrates the ability of the nation to come together, not only with allegiance to both an individual country, but also the nation as a whole.

The attempts of the State to bind learners into society are further shown within the legal system section of the State citizenship material. With Richmond (1984:5) describing law as the "central value system which binds people together", its inclusion within the State citizenship pack provides the learner with the opportunity to understand the legal system of the UK.

Theorists have long linked the law with education. Hobsbawm (1983, cited by Hutchinson and Smith 1995:77), likened the standardisation of education, with the standardisation of law, both of which are required to "transform people into citizenship". The standardisation of education brought forward the birth of nationalism with the industrialisation of society, the use of a common language, and a standardised legal system (Gellner 1983). The State sponsored legal materials focus on understanding the concepts in UK law, including identifying legal roles such as 'magistrate' and 'juror'. There is an emphasis in these terms being related to an 'ordinary person'. The accessibility of these roles and the importance and prominence of them in British society provides an opportunity for learners to imagine themselves taking up these roles, but moreover describes the power an ordinary person can hold within society.

The practical and participatory features of the speaking and listening classes were further displayed in exploring the UK legal system. Where the Home Office (2010) citizenship pack outlined the meaning of key words such as judge and jury, the fieldwork class took part in the 'Knowing the Law' roleplaying worksheet. As with the emphasis on an 'ordinary person' being able to be part of the jury or become a magistrate, the roleplay required learners to take on these positions. Saare opted for

the role of Prosecutor, but then asked "what is my job supposed to be?", demonstrating a limited understanding of the British legal system. Although found guilty by an all-female jury, the male judge did not punish the defendant for murdering her husband. The nature of the crime aside, the re-enforcing of the learners taking on the roles of normal people in British society, particularly in a formal historic legal process assists with creating an environment of "symbols…values and traditions" proposed by Smith (2002:14-15).

The importance of Richmond's (1984:5) value system was further stated by Guibernau (1996, cited by Croucher 2003:83:84) with describing shared values as the basis for building the nation. For some learners, there may have been some similarities with their own legal system, as claimed by Rotberg (1966:34), the colonial powers such as the UK imported their "legal, linguistics, and cultural concepts", although he claimed with the demise of colonialism this led to recurrent "anti-European attitudes, which were…anti-establishment". However, with learners volunteering for the roles, reading the worksheet and participating in the process fully, they became willing participants which, instead of having a system imposed upon them, created and controlled the outcomes for themselves. The opportunity within the ESOL classroom is for learners to overcome pre-determined or ingrained ideas, again giving ownership over a subject through participation and exploration through improvisation.

The values of 'respect', 'diversity' and 'justice', as well as the democratic responsibilities of citizens have been a feature throughout this section. The application of these values through appreciation of British society, and in particular

the equal rights and influence of woman, highlights the expectation the State has for those who settle within the UK. Further to this, the inclusive nature of activities within the empirical research such as taking ownership of these themes gives learners some personal insight into democracy and laws within the UK.

The following section examines how the learners experience British culture through the use of ESOL materials and the extra-curricular activities arranged by The College.

Experiencing British Culture

This thesis has given full account of the literature relating to the theories of the nation and nationalism. In its most basic form, Griffiths and Vadura (2013:559) have described it as a desire to get individuals to "exalt one nation above all others", a starting point for naturalisation policy.

There is a multitude of nationalism theories, which occasionally complement, but more commonly, contradict one another. This thesis argues that the use of mainstream theories of nationalism have played an important role in the development and implementation of the British language policy, with the aim of achieving better integration of second language English speakers in society. Hall (1993:1) claimed there can be no single theory; therefore it is argued that language policy and state citizenship material adopts the common features of nationalism theory and features which will assist in delivering its integrative aim.

The importance of a standardised education system as the foundation of nationalism is perpetuated by Gellner (1983), who argues that the culture and identity of the State is shaped through the use of a common language. With his theory of an 'imagined community', Anderson (1993) shares some ground with Gellner (1983) referencing the dominance of the governing elite, but also the importance of a standardised language. For Anderson (1983), common histories and ideas were popularised by what he terms 'print capitalism', giving rise to literacy through mass printing of texts and books. Whereas Anderson (1983) saw this production of mass texts combined with the replication of day to day activities by thousands (or millions) of people as the basis of his theories (Ozkrimli 2000:147), Gellner (1983) saw the common language and standardised education system as the route to an industrialised modern society. The standardisation of the ESOL course across England and Wales relies upon the examinations taken by all ESOL learners at the end of each academic year.

In the empirical research, the preparation for the tests began within weeks of the start of the year, which provided the opportunity to gain insight into the learner's views and opinions. The importance placed on the examinations for the progression of the ESOL learners was apparent; however the topics contained within the practice test and past papers were often at odds with the State produced material within the Home Office (2010) citizenship pack. Where the citizenship pack sought to introduce topics central to the UK, its culture, citizenship and society, the test topics covered topics including passport renewal, holidays, faulty electrical items and the bombing of Hiroshima.

The only link to the UK through these subjects was through articles on UK passport renewal which, for all but two of the learners, would have been irrelevant. For asylum seekers and those who had left their countries to escape persecution, the discussion of passport renewal processes could have been a reminder of their often inability to travel. Furthermore, the discussion of criticism and sympathy to either America or Japan over the Hiroshima atomic bomb provides little insight in British society or culture, but draws comparators to war and conflict, again referring to those escaping prosecution.

This is also the case within the written examination test papers and classroom materials. As opposed to the nationalism themes used within the citizenship pack to promote British society and "exalt...[the] nation above all others" (Griffiths and Vadura 2013:559), the test topics highlighted the significant use of tobacco by children in the UK, whereas the classroom material topics included the "sorry state" of the British education system, increase in youth crime to the extent that society is fearful of children and George Michael having sex on Hampstead Health. These topics were included within the classroom, but unlike the Home Office (2010) citizenship pack, do not positively promote British values. Furthermore, the description of the British education system being a 'sorry state' adversely impacts upon the learner's own view of their qualification, potentially impacting upon their view of the classes as well as devaluing their qualification.

In contrast to Gellner (1983), for Smith (1986:32) there was a focus on the nation's 'shared history', which he further developed into "a legacy of remembrances" (1993), with nationalism relying upon "historical memory…symbols and myth"

(Smith 1993, 1999, Couture et al. 1993:6). Although Smith (1993, 1999) differed from the view of Stalin (1913) in part, they share the need for a common culture.

The Home Office (2010) materials suggest the use of extra-curricular activities to embed local culture and ensure the course is relevant to the learners everyday lives. The use of the St David's Day to promote Welsh identity was prominent for several weeks, culminating in the visit to the St Fagans National History Museum. The promotion of St David as a historical figure, the decoration of The College using Welsh flags and referring to female learners wearing the symbolic red colour as 'Welsh ladies', are all routed in nationalism theory. Billig (1995), Smith (1999, 1998) and Guibernau (1996), rely on this use of memory, myth and symbol to give a sense of community and unity to a nation.

In addition to this, the learners participated in symbolic celebrations of historic and cultural symbolism on St David's Day, giving first-hand experience of how the event is marked across Wales. For Anderson (1993), this activity taking place is part of the 'imagined community' theory, where the learners can imagine themselves participating in an activity which is being undertaken across the country. In addition, the inclusion of colour, Wales flags on notice boards and the daffodils on windowsills within the College, are the everyday symbols of banal nationalism theorised by Billig (1995).

The materials used for teaching during the week included further detail of the symbolic nature of daffodils and leeks, as Billig (1995) theorised, but also the attendance at parades which unify the community in celebration of St David's Day.

During the visit to the St Fagans, the National History Museum for Wales, learners experienced a combination of history, culture, language and symbols. The use of the extra-curricular element of the State citizenship pack, introduced a physical depiction of historic Welsh life, featuring historic houses, churches, shops and farms. By undertaking worksheets, interacting with the staff and consuming a traditional Welsh lunch of Cawl and Welsh cakes, the learners took ownership of the subject matter through their investigations, discussions and experiences. The representation of this history, symbolism and myths within the field trip was presentative of the theories proposed by Smith (1993), and Billig (1995), but also participation in the imagined community of Anderson (1993). The need for language to understand and assimilate the information, both from the worksheets, display boards and actors on site is also the foundation of the theories by Gellner (1983), Anderson (1993), Smith (1999, 2001), Billig (1995) and Stalin (1913).

With citizenship topics relating to a greater cultural and nationalistic understanding of the nation, some materials within the classroom did not significantly add to the learner experience. The inclusion of a biography of American politician Sarah Palin, a worksheet on Michael Jackson, a discussion on Thomas the Tank and a task based on the lyrics to an Elton John song provided little interest to the learners. Some learners felt that the inclusion of a children's topic such as Thomas the Tank did little for their confidence, with Dominika describing it as "silly" and not engaging with the subject matter.

However, a number of learners were parents, with one giving birth during the fieldwork year. Against a backdrop of the drive towards a greater understanding of

British culture, the use of children's material provides not only insight into the programming for young people in the UK, but also what types of programmes native children have traditionally watched, providing cultural context. However, for learners such as Dominika, there was limited value in its inclusion.

The materials also challenged culturally sensitive issues, such as worksheets within the classroom about the role of Christianity in society. For some learners within the classroom, religion was an important topic. For Saare, his religion played a role in how he viewed society and his paid employment in a nightclub during the weekends. However, discussing the dominance of Christianity within society allowed non-Christians to explore and discuss these topics within an open and safe environment, informed by teaching staff. In addition to religion directly, the use of worksheets on gambling and the national lottery encouraged discussion by learners, including those who were against gambling on religious grounds. By using these subjects, learners are given the opportunity to explore features of British society and also discuss the views of other learners, such as Arda who believed the lottery wasn't gambling due to its charitable giving, which was challenged by the other learners. Although these topics do not relate to citizenship within the UK, they do apply to the culture and society of the UK. This provides a current and relevant insight into the popular culture in the UK which learners find more relevant to their everyday lives than the theoretical topics covered within the citizenship pack. Although the materials may not directly link to citizenship, they provide a wider societal and cultural experience for learners, providing a comprehensive understanding of different aspects of life in the UK.

This section has shown that opportunities are often missed within these materials which could further aid integration. The use of materials which relate to poor education, sex and youth violence, provide a wide ranging, yet negative view of British society. Countering this, the flexibility of the extra-curricular activities and use of local materials and museums provided a tangible experience for learners, which created both interest and engagement with the associated classroom materials. The next section will examine the learners knowledge of British society, as demonstrated within the empirical research.

Knowledge of British Society

The materials within the ESOL classroom "should be derived" from the guidance and materials provided by the Home Office (2010:xxi). The pack suggests the use of local materials, practical activities as well as worksheets, and these were all featured within the fieldwork. The topics covered within these materials differed from those within the Home Office pack. To this end, the Home Office (2010) pack represents the view of the State as to what subjects, materials and details are required as part of a citizenship and/or second language English policy. By contrast, the teaching materials within the classroom represent how teachers prioritise the topics and plan lessons. This is what is then received and experienced by the learners and is the basis of the de facto language policy (Shohamy 2009).

In Speaking and Listening classes, learners researched and presented citizenship topics, providing insight into how much of this knowledge was known by the

learners, but also as Simon highlighted, the learners get “to talk about what interests them”.

Within the classroom, there was broadly a reluctance to cover these subjects in a British context. In nearly every instance of a citizenship presentation, Simon was either asked “does it have to be about the UK”, or simply the learner would talk about their home country, such as Samantha talking about education in the Sudan. Others, such as Saare, provided a comparator to between their home country and the UK, whereby the role of family in British society was negatively discussed.

Overall, when given a choice, there was a stronger desire by learners to discuss current affairs rather than cover citizenship topics. When examining the areas of citizenship which were covered by the learners, greater detail and interest were given to the areas of British society where the learners had experience. The presentation by Sarah and Amira on housing, gave a good account of Council houses, including the areas they are in, details of rentals, how to apply and the length of waiting lists locally.

This is further demonstrated by the presentation of Kaja and Saare on the NHS and Kanta on the citizenship process. As a British citizen, Kanta had a good understanding of this and therefore could speak in greater detail. By contrast, those areas where some learners had lesser experience, were presented in a shorter and less detailed form. Few learners had the right to work in the UK, and therefore when Amiin and Sayid gave their presentations on volunteering, there was no experience to draw upon and simply said that “you get no money but work experience which

will help you get a job", to which Simon responded "sorry guys, you need to do more research". In broad terms, when Simon chose Parliament and the electoral system, then specified either Westminster or the Welsh Assembly for Kanta and Bruna they explained "we don't know enough about either". Deciding to present on citizenship acquisition, Kaja who had experience of it, gave an overview of how to gain British citizenship and a British passport. By contrast Bruna, who had studied ESOL for 5 years, did not contribute to the presentation, stating only "I don't know anything about citizenship" as Kaja finished. Given the length of time Bruna had studied ESOL, and the confidence to talk at length in class over current affairs topics, it was a distinct issue that there was little knowledge and understanding of Parliament, the Welsh Government or citizenship acquisition. This demonstrates the lack of knowledge about key subjects even after 5 years of tuition.

Leyla, who had also attended ESOL for 5 years, opted to speak about citizenship acquisition when given a choice between a citizenship topic and current affairs. She was pregnant and gave birth during the fieldwork year, starting her presentation with "the benefit of citizenship education", and continued that "citizenship tells young people about their responsibility politically and economically, but also their rights". The values highlighted by Leyla, such as citizenship being a "benefit", which bestows "rights" through "responsibility" link strongly with the shared values outlined by Smith (1993), but also the importance of language described by Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11), where terms reinforcing belonging such as "citizenship" and "rights" are used alongside "responsibility", which reinforces the need for learners to participate in both the political and economic spheres of society. This was furthered by Lucie who, when speaking about education, stating "it is

important to learn English to teach your kids to make them British", which encapsulated the learner belief in the link between national identity and language.

As a learner who enjoyed all her the ESOL classes and completed homework when required, Leyla's commitment differed to Bruna's who spent much of the time on her phone and did not fully participate in many of the ESOL classes. Leyla gave no specific reason for starting ESOL, but with the pregnancy and subsequent birth of her child it was clear from her citizenship presentation that young people knowing their rights was important.

For Bruna, however, ESOL was a route to employability and as a European citizen, there was no interest or interaction with the citizenship topics. The reason for beginning ESOL lessons, and for progressing each year is an important indicator for what a learner hopes to gain from the classes. For those like Bruna, who have no need or desire to gain citizenship, these topics hold little interest and therefore retain very little of the detail relating to the UK democratic system or citizenship itself. In addition, Bruna indicated that within the next 10 to 14 years she hoped to leave the UK. For Leyla, who was starting a family and settling in the UK, there was a desire to explore and discuss citizenship topics. She identified the benefit of citizenship topics and applied these to rights and responsibilities, specific to young people. For those who have sought citizenship, such as Kaja and Kanta, talking about citizenship is as much about experience and it is what was learnt from the classroom. They were confident in speaking about the process, both in terms of the ESOL route and through marriage to a British citizen. For Leyla, there was a conscious decision to present about citizenship, which spoke of the importance of both values and

responsibilities, which for the Home Office (2002:33), was a cornerstone of the ESOL policy. But for the learners such as Bruna, and also Amiin and Sayed, who had no desire to undertake volunteering but instead wanted to find paid employment, there was no effort to explore the subject and present meaningful findings.

When presenting current affairs topics, the choices also related to the personal interests of learners. Lucie, from Africa, left her home country to escape persecution and came to the UK for legal protection. When given a choice of topics, she chose a current affairs story where "Theresa May tried to deport Algerians and she failed". Presenting a topic which relates to the deportation of Africa migrants, there are some similarities to her everyday life and her 'imagined community' (Anderson 1993).

This section has explored how learners engage with the subject areas being taught, and identifies a lack of knowledge in areas where learners have little personal experience or interest. By contrast, with learners who had a personal interest, such as learners with young children, there was a greater drive towards understanding British society and a recognition of the rights and responsibilities of British citizens.

The following section will detail the key barriers to integration experienced by learners.

Barriers to Integration

The description of naturalisation and education policies by Shohamy (2007:119), Simpson (2016) and Blackledge (2006, 2005), replicates both the importance and power of language and testing. Despite the rise of multiculturalism in the UK during

the early 2000s, Shohamy (2007) linked "the suppression and elimination of unique knowledge of minority groups" with the importance for the State "to perpetuate the language's high status". This view supported by Blackledge (2006), where the "symbolic power of the State" came through assimilation of migrants during language learning. This policy agenda links with the priority of Griffiths and Vadura (2013) as assimilation and suppression of minority symbols and languages to 'exalt' the UK and its culture above all others.

The suppression of minority languages through policy, was also found within The College. With the only language permitted being English, learners were told not to speak with their native tongue, often having it noted by staff who walked past the learners in the corridor. One teacher featured in the fieldwork stated "the door to this classroom is the border to my country, when you're here, you speak English", which stopped discussion altogether rather than learners instead speaking English. The importance for learners to immerse themselves within English at The College is key to their success through practice, however the way it is challenged places English language in a position of dominance over all other languages. Although it isn't claimed that this was a conscience effort to subjugate other languages, it is at odds with the inclusive language of Billig (1995, cited by Edensor 2002:11) where "the economy" becomes "our economy", in this case it was "the border to my country", as opposed to it being in any way 'our country'. By introducing legislation where language policy is intertwined with policy on immigration and citizenship, the government ensured that English remains the dominant language in British society (Ricento 2003, cited by Simpson 2016:5). This is further supported by Bourdieu

(1998b:46, cited by Blackledge 2009:39), who describes it as "the rejection of all other languages into indignity".

The role of authority figures and experiences of learners engaging with 'authority' in various guises is contained within the Home Office (2010) pack. The sentiment and topics are significant, with learners undertaking activities related to racial abuse from neighbours, receiving no support from the local authority. By including an isolating experience, it opens the subject for discussion and sharing experiences within the class. This approach was featured within the fieldwork research, where through a worksheet, a discussion took place where racial abuse experienced by learners was discussed and explored in a supportive classroom environment. This was apparent within lessons discussing experiences in British society, and by examining the attendance of learners in the classroom. Learners, as well as foreign born staff, documented experiences of racism, with swearing and gestures being used to isolate learners. The Home Office (2010) citizenship pack included the assistance that learners would seek from their elected officials due to racist abuse from a neighbour. For Omar, this was a reality, which included graffiti and a neighbour covering his front door in a combustible fluid, leading to him leaving ESOL for the year.

Attempting to gain a greater knowledge of the English language and British society, Omar was demonstrating a commitment to British society through his attendance and plans to start a business in the UK. The actions of a racist attack prevented this and further marginalised those needing support in British society. As explained by Kate, experiences of racial abuse were often identified in the ESOL classroom, through both discussion and expressive free writing tasks, which Widdowson (1992)

describes as a way for learners to interpret their experiences, reinforcing the view of ESOL as a safe space.

During the fieldwork year, the arrest and deportation of Ahmed in January 2012 undermined this safe space described by Widdowson (1992). The UKBA detained him on his way home from classes, which led some learners, such as Thabo, to be concerned that "it could happen to anyone". There was also some concern that The College may have been involved in the arrest. This was reinforced by a previous raid and removal from the ESOL centre two years previously, when someone was removed from the classroom directly. This uncertainty, and reinforcement of mistrust for authority undermines the idea of the ESOL classroom being a safe space (Pereira et al 2012). The importance of being able to discuss contentious issues such as racism within the ESOL environment is critical for three reasons. The first is that the learner can identify with an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) which works both for and against their integration. Positively, it is less isolating as the materials and other members of the cohort share their experiences. However, this can also lead to an 'imagined community' where abuse and social isolation are seen to be experienced by learners throughout the country, affirming a separation between settled migrant communities and other parts of British society. Balancing this within the State materials was the inclusion of how to seek help and support from those in positions of societal power and authority such as elected Councillors and Members of Parliament.

From the stark experience of being abused by neighbours and other members of the community, the introduction to these elected officials into the materials balances the

experience of migrants, particularly given the mistrust of authority shown by learners such as Thabo.

The underlying mistrust of authority by Thabo was demonstrated following being granted Leave to Remain. Almost overnight, Thabo lost his entitlement to NASS benefits and housing, having to get benefits through the Job Centre and find his own housing. The Job Centre telephone questionnaire asked questions relating to foreign armed forces and location of any property abroad. For a second language English speaker escaping persecution, both these questions led to him ending the call and not wanting to apply for benefits. Such was his mistrust for authority, Thabo was willing to go without money and housing through fear of being returned to his home country. Although described by Kate as "typical", David Blunkett explained he was "really surprised", further stating that "it's about designing what you do to authenticate the individual and verify they are being truthful, but those questions are not the way". Demonstrating empathy with the learner, David Blunkett said "the student would find these offensive…if no one was there [to help], it would have blown them away".

The fear of deportation by learners is covered in the Home Office (2010) Pack, providing template letters to Members of Parliament which provide details of how to seek assistance when facing deportation. By providing the negative scenarios migrant learners might witness, the text is not only preparing the learner for potential experiences, but also providing potential solutions to these barriers. There is an important element of realism to these subject areas. If the materials produced a subject area which was positive about all aspects of British society, without

acknowledging some of the barriers experienced, then the materials would most likely create an unrealistic expectation for new migrants. This would lead to social exclusion as their reality of life in the UK is far different from other migrants within the UK based on their expectations.

This section has identified the barriers to ESOL learning and integration through social influences, such as racism and the suppression of minority cultures and language. In addition, it is argued that there are significant societal barriers by the State, through public bodies such as the UKBA and the Job Centre which undermine the confidence of learners and put at risk their ability to engage with ESOL classes and continue their integration.

The following section follows on from this to examine ESOL testing and funding.

ESOL Testing and Funding

It has been proposed that nationalism is the foundation of UK language policy and that language education became a gatekeeping exercise, which despite the 2015 naturalisation changes, is still in operation. Blackledge (2009:40) claims there is a view that "people who do not speak the majority language impoverish the nation" and therefore, introducing measures to compel language acquisition, seeks to prevent this occurrence. Language has long been a feature of UK immigration policy, but the introduction of ESOL and its curriculum formalised this arrangement and set out a contract between the State and the learner to encourage greater participation.

The experience of ESOL learners will always be impacted upon by the national language policy, and language testing has been a feature of ESOL research in the past decade. Much of the discourse around ESOL from its original consultations has been related to coercion, with Shaw (2002) citing the Immigration Law Practioners' Association response that "most people want to learn English without need of coercion". This idea has been developed further in the research of Shohamy (2007:117) where ESOL has been "connected and embedded in political, social and educational contexts" which meant the tests have become "more powerful than any written policy document". When considering the use and purpose of materials to the everyday life of learners, the testing of the ESOL class is intrinsic. As Molly explained, "the students need to get the qualification, so we prepare them for the test as soon as we can". Although it is argued that these tests have come to represent a barrier for learners wishing to engage in greater social participation (McNamara and Shohamy 2008:89), the ability for the learners to study ESOL classes depends upon the funding of the course.

Through the evidence from the fieldwork, it is apparent that learners gained cultural insight into the UK and other cultures through their attendance at ESOL classes. The learners who started ESOL classes prioritised their future career aspirations as well as their social experiences, this was further evidenced by Phillimore (2010:28). Action for ESOL (2012:4) argue that the benefit of ESOL goes beyond the experience of learners, by also being part of the UK public good which contributes to wider society. The funding position for ESOL has therefore become one of the greatest threats to ESOL since its incarnation in 2001. By contrast to the inclusion evidenced within the fieldwork and by Phillimore (2010:28), Ashworth (2016)

highlights that “the changes to ESOL [funding] would leave women isolated”, which would also impact on integration into wider society (Paget and Stevenson 2014:37). Moore (2011) argues that there would be a disproportionate number of women affected by any reduction in funding, which is supported strongly in the findings of the Casey report (2016). Action for ESOL (2014:4) argue that the funding for ESOL needs to be focused on the “needs and aspirations of students” and a “statutory entitlement” for those who need it.

Supporting the argument of Action for ESOL (2014), David Blunkett agreed that the courses should be initially free as it is “in everyone’s best interest”, indicating the benefit of ESOL not only to the learner, but also wider society. Furthermore, Blunkett argues that a system of parity in education costs needs to be established across both indigenous and newly settled populations. There were wide ranging views from both staff and learners within the fieldwork. Although clear that the ESOL provision should not be cut, Molly also believed that there would be a greater level of commitment from learners if they contributed “where possible”, indicating a desire to look at a system of means testing to ensure that those who could afford to pay towards their education did so. This view was shared amongst some learners within the fieldwork focus group. Akeem agreed with Molly, attributing greater value on the education which is paid for, rather than that which is free. Three other learners believed that if payment is required for the classes, then you should pay for it. This means that learners should comply with any charges, but stops short of agreeing the charges should be introduced.

Three male learners in the class felt that because of their financial position, they would leave ESOL if payment was required, demonstrating the difficulty a flat-rate of charging would present for many ESOL learners, and that this would not be limited only to female learners. Hannah supported the view of Molly, believing a contribution to costs should be made depending on how much the learner could afford.

For David Blunkett, it wouldn't be unfair to charge for the more advanced ESOL courses. As citizenship was previously awarded at Entry 3 level, it is likely that this would be considered a suitable breakwater between the free and paid elements of ESOL. If a financial element were introduced at this level, however, it is likely to impact on the ability for learners to progress to the Level 1 and Level 2 courses. The reasons for this are three-fold. Firstly, the principle of charging requires learners to be able to afford the courses, which even on a means-tested basis would be likely to adversely impact on learners' finances. It would also create an unacceptable two-tiered education system whereby those paying towards their education would have a feeling of greater entitlement than those not fee paying. This would undermine the inclusivity of ESOL classes and create a divide between those who can afford to pay, and those that cannot. Secondly, the introduction of fees for ESOL would create a barrier between ESOL and learners, particularly impacting on female learners. Pattar (2010:8) described the experience of a female learner who wanted to learn English to find employment, but had a husband who was unsupportive. Phillimore (2010:17) stated that some learners live on £32 per week, which covered food and all other costs. Not only does this demonstrate the unaffordability of introducing fees to those learners on benefit income, it also highlights the very real hardship already

experienced by ESOL learners. If fees were introduced, the power balance within a relationship could prevent the learner being able to get money for the course or prioritise the spend within the household. Thirdly, the imposition of fees on ESOL courses, combined with the removal of the link to citizenship in 2015, creates an environment where the standing of the classes is reduced alongside the imposition of a financial barrier. Given the role of ESOL classes for the State is to prioritise and promote Britishness as well as being initiated "under the banner of integration" (Paget and Stevenson (2014:37), it would work against these priorities and instead create barriers between migrants and ESOL, as well as migrants and the State.

The role of the State and its influence within the ESOL classroom has been identified within this section. The preparation for testing within the classroom from early in the academic year underlines its importance in the lives of learners and the dominant of the State requiring the testing to take place. In addition to this, the risks to ESOL through withdrawal or changes to funding have been stated, with potential to disenfranchise a significant proportion of ESOL learners impacting upon their ability to succeed.

The following section considers the educational and economic aspirations of ESOL learners, featured both in the fieldwork and the literature review.

Education and Economic Aspiration

For the sixteen learners featured in this thesis, the legislative change separating ESOL and citizenship would make little difference to the majority of the learners starting the course, indeed much like Hashem (2009:1), it appeared that citizenship

does not significantly impact on the motivations for learning English. As with the learner's choice of current affairs and day-to-day news over citizenship topics in their Speaking and Listening presentations, the learners prioritised the day-to-day practicalities over the citizenship subjects. These priorities focused not only on their daily lives and the desire to progress with greater language ability, but also to go to University and gain employment and make friends. For Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002:17), both in articles and in the interview for this research, there was a drive towards employment and greater education, even within the sphere of discussing citizenship and language as being about "shared participation", to ensure it connects "people from different backgrounds" and "tackle[s] segregation…otherwise they cannot get good jobs". This is a similar approach to Gellner's (1983) theory, linking the standardisation of language, education, and employment through industrialisation, which is further supported by Stalin (1913, cited by Hutchinson and Smith 1994:20-21) who refers directly to the importance of an economic life. The use of economic activity and promotion of employment through ESOL allows for greater social participation, but also ensures "social cohesion" sought by the State (Cantle 2002:p.i. cited by Blackledge 2006:71).

These prioritise the progression of the economic and social lives of learners above citizenship. Although the separation between citizenship and ESOL for some would be unnoticeable, for the minority who did start ESOL with the aim of gaining citizenship, the degradation of the ESOL qualification does nothing to forward this ambition. The removal of this important pathway for ESOL not only has the potential to erode the confidence of learners in their qualification, but also how learners who have spent up to five years studying consider the worth of their

qualification. In addition, the State undermines the social contract with ESOL learners when it removes a foundation of the ESOL qualification like citizenship.

Javed, an electronics graduate from Iran, aspired to become a football manager in the UK. Taking time out of class to attend classes to gain his coaching licence, Javed was one of the learners hoping to attend University; in his case to study a sport based degree. The application process and the resultant outcome show lack of recognition of previous experience and expertise for learners who had left their home country quickly or to escape persecution. This results in those most vulnerable being left disadvantaged, particularly through the loss of official documentation. The use of temporary documentation was not recognised and there was no system in place for the University to check qualifications with other institutions. In addition, the lack of recognition by the institution of the ESOL Level 1 qualification meant progression directly from ESOL to Higher Education was not possible, although it has been advertised as such. In the experience of Michael, the BTEC in Vocational Studies which was studied alongside ESOL and assessed only by coursework, was given greater recognition. The lack of recognition for up to five years of education is a key de-motivator, with prominence given to a BTEC which takes a couple of hours each week over a year.

Learners start ESOL with ambitious practical aspirations, but the reality often significantly differs (Simpson 2016). Molly explained the need to manage the expectations of learners, stating that setting the learners up to fail will not assist in achieving their aspirations. For Molly, this means that there is less pressure placed on the learners to achieve these goals immediately out of graduating from their

ESOL class. Molly was uncomfortable with ESOL learners going straight into Higher Education, citing the significant language challenges for learners, alongside the financial benefit to a University enrolling an international student. Despite Molly speaking to the learners and explaining that four years' learning a language does not mean someone is ready for University, Faiza described ESOL as "a guide to Higher Education"; Karam believing ESOL was "good for University and work" and Hannah saying "I will be able to do the University", resulted in many learners persistently submitting degree applications to local Higher Education institutions. In addition, the persistence in their efforts in the face of teaching advice correlates with the findings of Simpson (2016:5), which found learners believing ESOL will solve "all the problems one faces".

Although The College plays an important role in guiding and informing learners, it supported the decisions of learners seeking to continue onto other courses. Even though the advice from teaching staff during the year was consistent, some, such as Dominika, thought Molly was overcautious, predicting "Molly will just say stay with the College, do ESOL for the next ten years and never go to University". Although a reliance on the ESOL staff was demonstrated by learners such as Javed, who described a teacher as a best friend and "more than a teacher", independence over the future and decisions were still strongly retained. Despite this, the lack of recognition of ESOL continued to be an issue for most learners, particularly those who could not demonstrate any previous education qualifications.

However, It was not only the education sector which did not consistently recognise the ESOL qualification. The evidence from many learners which linked ESOL education with the ability to gain greater employability correlated with the findings

of Cooke (2006:62-63) where a learner explained they wanted to "stand on her own two feet". As the fieldwork was set within ESOL Level 2, much of the discussion related to employment, with the talk of University being linked to better jobs, as well as going directly into employment. Some learners were specific about their aims, with professional roles, in particular nursing being mentioned regularly. The workplace aspirations of the ESOL learners were not limited to their previous experience. Although learners such as Amina wanted to follow similar career paths in the UK as in their home country, others demonstrated the need for a wholesale change such as Amiin who wanted to become an accountant as it was a better job than he had in his home country.

Simpson (2016:8) argues for caution in having unrealistic expectations, believing that learners "tend to be employed below their professional level and might remain in this position for years to come". Learners such as Dominika were more fluid in their aspirations, citing numerous ambitions before settling on starting a business. These were not uncommon aspirations, with Cooke (2006) also finding roles such as nursing to be attractive to ESOL learners who, as with Amina, had experience of nursing in their home country and wanted to continue this in the UK.

For Simpson (2016), ESOL is not focused on the employability of learners, failing to address issues surrounding job interviews. Although The College had trained career advisors who ESOL learners spoke with regularly, this was a mainstay service for all students at The College, and would not necessarily be available in every ESOL centre. Therefore, there is little support through the published ESOL materials to facilitate this process within the classroom. Simpson (2016) found that language has

become increasingly important to ESOL learners as even a “menial job” requires sufficient language to successfully read, write and communicate.

Certainly, within the fieldwork, this was a route out of ESOL which saw learners leave part way through the year to take up employment in entry level roles which required little language ability. In the case of Mohammad, who left to drive a taxi full-time, there was a desire to earn money as quickly as possible, and that became the basis of his employment aspiration. This was further demonstrated by Sayid, who left ESOL part way through the year to seek employment as a static security guard. He rebuffed offers for flexible learning by The College, insisting that his main goal was to earn money. As stated by Simpson (2016), as entry level posts increasingly require sufficient language knowledge, learners often leave at this point seeing little merit in attaining the ESOL qualification for these posts.

When discussing the recognition of ESOL, David Blunkett stated “I don’t think employers do rate it” and claimed that benchmarking against recognised qualifications would give ESOL greater recognition. The College did not promote any benchmarking, despite other ESOL centres giving it a CEFR framework rating which is recognised throughout Europe. During the fieldwork, Samuel similarly felt there was an issue of recognition, arguing the ESOL name was not widely known and his employer had not heard of it. This was also confirmed by Molly who accepted it was a well-known issue and that a different name for ESOL might hold greater recognition, particularly if benchmarked with mainstream qualifications. Changing the structure of the qualification was supported by David Blunkett, who advocated for a change in the structure of ESOL to make the course more

manageable through employment specific shorter 'tester' courses, with use of the internet to advance the skill level further. These shorter courses would significantly reduce the daily time constraint of full-time education across 5 years, which David Blunkett explained is the time expected to become a doctor or architect with many topics being repeated during this time. David Blunkett's view was supported by Javed who claimed he "could miss months of Writing classes and still not be behind", but also that previous ESOL centres "were very slow", meaning the course could progress quicker for some learners to prevent them becoming despondent.

The argument by Samuel to change the name of ESOL classes, linked with the proposal of Molly to look at a more inclusive course title. For many learners, ESOL is a strong brand evidenced by significant waiting lists, as highlighted by Phillimore et al. (2010:16), and mentioned by Molly and ESOL learners on the diagnostic day. This would evidence the popularity of the courses amongst migrants seeking to improve their English language skill, which could be undermined by moving away from the ESOL brand.

The use of taster courses to begin the language learning journey before switching to a flexible online learning provision would satisfy the desire of learners to be able to study alongside work, however, is unlikely to meet the other needs of learners. The importance of teacher support, career guidance, but more importantly the social and integrative aspect of ESOL would be lost and potentially isolate some learners. For Phillimore et al (2010:28), learners were agreed that they "gained lots of experience in ESOL in terms of understanding UK culture and other newcomers' culture", but

isolating the learners within short courses and distance learning in the more advanced years of ESOL, would counter this benefit.

This section has highlighted the aspiration of the learners within this research, including going onto University and gaining employment. These were a consistent feature of the research, which documented the importance of progression for ESOL learners. David Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002) prioritised employment to tackle segregation in 2002, however this section has established a lack of recognition of ESOL qualifications by both higher education institutions and employers. Furthermore, this section has examined the potential to progress changes to ESOL, both in terms of benchmarking and how the course is taken.

This chapter has provided an analysis and discussion of the primary and secondary data presented throughout this thesis, drawing on key themes. The following chapter will draw conclusions from this evidence as well as recommendations for future research.

Conclusion

This research has examined the education and the experiences of migrants within ESOL classes and sought to understand whether this supports integration in society. The fieldwork gave prominence to the experiences of ESOL learners and draws not only on evidence gathered within ESOL classes, but evidence given by David Blunkett who as Home Secretary was directly involved in formulating and implementing ESOL policy. The top down and bottom up insight of this research combined with the findings and conclusions make an original contribution to the field of research. This chapter will explain the main conclusions of the research, followed by its overall considerations. This will be followed by the implications of this research for ESOL, the lessons learnt and the recommendations for future research.

Main Conclusions and Recommendations

This research aimed 'to understand whether the experience of ESOL learners encourages integration in society'. The findings have provided an insight into the materials used by learners in the ESOL classroom, as well as whether the classes are worthwhile for the learners with respect to their aspirations. To achieve the research aim, the three associated objectives of this research were 'to establish whether there is sufficient recognition of the ESOL qualification', 'to examine ESOL exams and course materials to understand whether they promote integration in society', and 'identify whether the experiences of learners promote active citizenship'.

The main findings and conclusions of this research are explained in terms of these objectives, which are given in answers to the following questions:

Is there sufficient recognition of the ESOL qualification?

As argued in Chapter Eight, there is a need to raise the status of the ESOL qualification as there is currently a lack of recognition by both Higher Education institutions and employers. As argued in Chapter Three, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight, there is a variety of aspirations held by ESOL learners. The work of Cooke (2006) and Phillimore et al. (2010) described varied learner aspirations, primarily based upon gaining employment. This is supported by both Hashem (2009) and Simpson (2016). Within the empirical research, the majority of learners identified gaining a place at University and employment as a main motivator for starting ESOL, while there was no significant evidence of citizenship acquisition being a key driver for learners to begin ESOL classes. The types of employment sought was varied. Roles such as nursing were mentioned within the fieldwork, which was also an occupation favoured by learners in the work of Cooke (2006). Other aspirations highlighted in Chapter Seven included wanting to start a business, become an accountant and become a football coach.

The findings of Simpson (2016) identified the challenges faced by ESOL learners, with many entry level roles requiring literacy and high expectations from learners which often go unfulfilled for many years. This was supported by Cooke (2006) who stated that there was often a need for learners to improve their English prior to employment. Simpson (2016) found there to be a lack of support for employment, with no training or guidance into job interviews being offered. Within the fieldwork,

there was highly skilled career guidance service, although this was a College wide service, not catering to the specific needs of the ESOL learner. Within the fieldwork there were also instances where learners left the course part way through the year in order to take on paid work, which demonstrates the priority of some learners to gain work above all else.

Conversely, there was also a drive by other learners in Chapter Seven to push forward with more education after ESOL, with a view of improving their employability. Despite The College staff recommending caution, learners such as Javed, Michael, Faiza, Karam and Hannah, aspired to go straight onto University. For Javed, the University would not recognise his temporary degree certificate and gave no weight to his ESOL qualification. This was further experienced by Michael, who applied to University and was offered a place based on the year long BTEC in Vocational Studies, rather than the five years he had studied ESOL.

David Blunkett, stated that the length of time taken to complete ESOL was too long, claiming only Doctors and Architects would expect to invest five years into a qualification. The year long BTEC qualification was sufficient for two learners to gain places at British universities; however, it continues to take five years to complete all levels of ESOL with little recognition by employers and education institutions for the qualification. Commenting on the recognition of ESOL by employers, David Blunkett did not believe there was a high level of recognition nor respect for the qualification. Admitting it was a mistake not to have benchmarked the qualification, Blunkett claimed there is a lack of value attached to it and has not been promoted as widely as it should have been. This has meant that few employers

appreciate the level of dedication or skill required to complete the qualification. This is evidenced by Saare, whose employer had no understanding of the ESOL qualification.

The evidence of David Blunkett was comprehensive and made clear that greater understanding and appreciation of ESOL qualifications was required by both employers and Higher Education institutions. The literature review explained that for an institution to be accredited by the Home Office for citizenship purposes, 'onerous' conditions were introduced. Given the desire of learners to join ESOL to participate through work and education rather than to gain formal citizenship, it is unlikely that the removal of the link between ESOL and citizenship will detrimentally impact on learners.

Despite this, it is argued that the lack of recognition of ESOL qualifications by both higher education institutions and employers, along with the removal of the link to citizenship, reveals a potential to undermine the qualification. Since 2001, ESOL learners have sought to take ESOL qualification as stepping stones to meet their aspirations. For their 5 years of investment in time and effort, they achieved a qualification which, whether used or not, was a route to gaining citizenship. The removal of this link may not impact significantly on the future of these learners, but it demonstrates the State downgrading the importance and its support of this qualification. The ESOL qualification now has reduced funding and no link to citizenship, which diminishes what previous learners have achieved.

Shohamy (2007) and Blackledge (2006, 2005) claim that the testing of ESOL learners seeks to exert the control of the State over learners, making language tests more powerful than any piece of legislation. During the fieldwork, Molly explained the high importance of the tests, resulting in test preparation starting within the first few weeks of the year. When interviewed, David Blunkett proposed a change to ESOL courses, giving greater flexibility to learners and supporting their ambitions. Although the use of 'taster' courses would be beneficial, benchmarking the qualification to a BTEC level or similar, could result in coursework being used as it was for the BTEC in Vocational Studies. This would develop the English of learners by recognising issues and making the required improvements to the work prior to submission, opposed to the testing which provides little opportunity for continuous development.

Currently, there is insufficient recognition of the ESOL qualification by higher education institutions and employers. By benchmarking the qualification, there is a greater opportunity to reflect the needs and aspirations of learners along with reviewing the way the ESOL qualification is examined.

Do ESOL exams and course materials support and promote integration in society?

Chapter One gave full account of the theories of both nations and nationalism. The use of these theories to integrate and facilitate inclusion is detailed within Chapter Six, and placed into context within Chapter Eight. It is argued that the State uses the prominent features of nationalism theories to promote British ideals and support integration in British society. The use of a standardised education system with a blueprint for learning materials, standardised ESOL examinations and a language

specific core curriculum has sought to instill a common language amongst migrants in the UK, as argued by Gellner (1983). This is progressed by the State as a commitment to promote integration and prevent marginalisation. There is a clear vision from the UK Government on the topics which should be used within the ESOL classroom, particularly through the production of the learning materials which includes topics related to society, citizenship, education, health, democracy, parliament and democracy. These are key British values, which are cornerstones to integration argued by Guibernau (1996, cited by Croucher 2003:83-84) and Shaw (2002). It is argued within Chapter Six that the extracurricular activities such as the visit to St Fagans museum, provide learners with an important insight into the history, values and traditions of the UK, promoted by Smith (1993).

In contrast to this, the materials within the ESOL classroom reflect not only everyday matters in society, but also topics which are not related to daily lives or wider society. The inclusion in classes of the letters of complaint to Local Authorities, details of MPs and presentations on citizenship topics develops an understanding of the structures of British society, but also gives learners an understanding of how to seek help and assistance. These topics within classes were found to be useful and of interest to learners. Alongside this was the use of practical learning through fieldtrips to local historic attractions and activities such as mock trials in the classroom.

The use of topics such as Elton John lyrics, Thomas the Tank and drug use by George Michael were sporadic and did not directly reflect the good practice advise that material is “authentic and local” but also “current and relevant to learners”

(Home Office 2010:v). The article on drug use by George Michael was 5 years old when used in the classroom and the inclusion of a children's TV programme was not embraced by the adult learners.

Other topics such as the tobacco use by children, the "sorry" state of British education and an increase in crime by British youngsters also provided an unbalanced view of complex topics which could be seen to undermine confidence in, and desire to, engage in British society.

The ability for teaching staff to select and author material which is relevant to their learners is important. Many worksheets used within the classroom specify which requirement of the core curriculum it meets. The Home Office recommended that classroom materials are derived from citizenship topics, therefore to ensure relevance is maintained, linking the materials to a citizenship theme would be beneficial.

Do the experiences of ESOL learners assist in integration?

The experiences of migrants within the fieldwork identified several issues impacting upon their ability to achieve in the ESOL classroom.

A key finding of the research came through the experience of Thabo, when he was granted Leave to Remain. The Job Centre telephone questionnaire used for first-time benefit applicants asked questions relating to foreign armed forces and location of any property abroad. For an individual with limited command of English language and escaping persecution, both these questions led to him ending the call and not wanting to apply for benefits. Had I not been present to explain the reason for the

questions it is unlikely that he would have called again to complete the process. At a time when he was to lose his housing due to the change in immigration status, a period with no money to seek new housing would not only have prevented him from attending ESOL classes, it would have increased his vulnerability and potentially led to a period of homelessness. The interview of David Blunkett stated that "it's about designing what you do to authenticate the individual and verify they are being truthful, but those questions are not the way". A review of the process for those granted leave to remain to access benefits should be undertaken to ensure the questioning is appropriate.

With the immediate withdrawal of NASS benefits and housing, Thabo took a leave of absence for nearly three months. Kate described this as a "typical" occurrence as the withdrawal of support when migrants get Leave to Remain is a "steep learning curve". This absence impacted negatively on his ESOL education.

Improvement is required in the transition for learners between NASS and mainstream benefits following the grant of Leave to Remain.

Additionally, the raid by the UKBA on The College in 2010 and arrest of a learner on his way home from classes during the fieldwork had a significantly negative impact on the feeling of safety and security of ESOL learners. The link between the arrests and The College environment meant that some learners questioned whether The College staff was involved in the raid. This undermined the trust of learners and created a need for a greater level of knowledge about the arrest, which wasn't forthcoming.

Furthermore, the experience of Omar, classroom whose family suffered racist attacks demonstrates the very real barriers to integration faced by some learners. The experience within this research was extreme, but indicates the intolerance suffered by learners, when attending ESOL classes to achieve greater participation in society. As the learner left the ESOL course because he did not feel his family was safe, it prevented meaningful integration.

This issue of intolerance, could also be a regular occurrence for many of the learners within the classroom. This research found a routine for ESOL learners to read newspapers in the morning before class. The Migration Observatory (2013:2) found "some 58,000 news stories and other newspaper items...[with] The common descriptors for immigrants were "illegal" and "terrorist", whereas for migrants, the common descriptors related to "jobs" and "benefits". When considering this alongside the theory of Anderson (1991) related to an imagined community, this type of activity demonstrates the impact these stories would have.

However, the experiences within the ESOL classroom assist greatly with migrant integration. The role of the teaching staff is of key importance to learners, as Javed explained the staff are often seen as "more than a teacher" with reference made to being like a "best friend". It is the trust and guidance which exist between staff and learners which is often relied upon. The advice given by Molly when discussing progression demonstrates the desire to ensure learners were realistic and not being set-up to fail. This ensures that the lives of learners after ESOL has the best possible chance of success, which undoubtedly assists in securing ongoing integration.

Overall Considerations

This research found that the need for employment was a key driver for learners to attend ESOL classes, but also a driver to leave when their language skill was sufficient to gain full-time employment. Undoubtedly the most significant barrier to the integration of ESOL learners and their ability to attend classes was the impact of racism. One learner had to withdraw from classes due to the racist attack on his house. This not only prevents gaining a greater knowledge of English language and British society, but it also undermines the safety and security of the learner, meaning that integration and participation in society is unlikely to be achieved. Therefore, any successes which can be achieved by ESOL, could also be reduced through the barriers which exist for learners in their daily lives.

For the ESOL learners within this research, the aspiration was to gain work and a University education above all else. Some learners within the fieldwork left the ESOL class to gain work with most others working outside of the classes during evenings and weekends, although the level of employment was often in entry level roles. Throughout the year, there was an interest in the knowledge regarding British society which was taught in the ESOL classroom. For the learners, ESOL promoted greater participation and integration in society through supporting them in work and supporting their educational aspirations in a way which was achievable and necessary for them to succeed. Although working was a positive aspect of ESOL for the State, the principle form of integration sought was a greater understanding of British values and society. The evidence from the presentations and coursework from within the fieldwork demonstrated a lack of knowledge on citizenship topics

and a preference to consider current affairs more than the topics suggested within the Learners' Pack. So, although the level of cultural integration sought has received limited success, the practical needs of ESOL learners to achieve a positive work and economic life are reliant upon their experiences within the ESOL classroom.

This thesis has also argued that the State uses the construction of nationalism theory to bolster support for British values, identity and promote a greater ability and desire to participate in British society. This process began with the adoption of classes which teach the common language, but also through the State materials and core curriculum which form the basis of a standardised education system. Both factors are, for Gellner (1983), the foundations of a nationalism theory which seeks to instill loyalty and ensure that migrants "exalt one nation above all others" (Vadura 2013:559). These principles of language and education provide the basis for understanding the communities and nation in which they have settled. This priority was further stated by Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002:17-18) who explained that "a political community can require new members to learn about its basic procedures and fundamental values…that is why I believe we need to educate new migrants in citizenship and help them develop an understanding of our language, democracy and culture", this referred to as a "basic knowledge of our society".

There are two priorities at play within the ESOL classroom; those of the State and those of the learner. For the State, ESOL is a vehicle to promote British values and encourage greater integration in society. Although the link to citizenship has been removed, the work and principles taught within the ESOL classroom remain relevant for the State. Each time social unrest in minority groups is discussed, language classes are the answer. Despite the attempts by the State to use nationalism and

language classes as a way of promoting society and integration, it could be undermined by the other aspects of State presence in the lives of migrants.

For the learners, the priorities within this research were primarily to work and study. The worksheets and materials Learners' Pack describes in detail the history of the UK, with specific reference to the important role of women in British society. Furthermore, the inclusion of symbolism through national sport teams and flags demonstrates the requirements to understand the meaning and history of the symbols which are featured daily within the United Kingdom. For Smith (1991, 1995, 1998), history is of paramount importance and directly relates to the creation of the nation. These materials were produced as a response to fractious periods of rioting highlighting the need for greater integration and social cohesion (Cantle Report 2001). The inclusion of materials by teaching staff in the classroom and flexibility in teaching allowed for a greater practical method of learning to take place. Within the fieldwork a knowledge of Welsh history was gained through fieldtrips, and knowledge of law through mock trials. These demonstrate the principle importance of embedding citizenship within language learning. When other materials, such as Thomas the Tank were used, the learners did not engage with the lesson.

Many of the barriers featured within the lives of ESOL learners featured an element of State action at its core. A significant factor identified within the research was the change in ESOL funding. It was clear from the fieldwork that there is significant concern about the future of ESOL funding. This research has found that there is unanimous support for ESOL lessons remaining initially free. This ensures that there is sufficient access to ESOL for those most in need of Entry Level ESOL classes.

Although the evidence of David Blunkett and Molly made the case for learners to contribute to the costs of ESOL, either at an advanced level or on a means tested basis, barriers to this were identified by learners. David Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002) prioritised ESOL learning to tackle segregation, and although some learners were supportive, many stated that fees would prevent them attending ESOL classes and would cause significant concern for those whose families were not supportive of an ESOL education. Therefore, any changes to ESOL funding must ensure that those most vulnerable in society would retain access to the language education they require.

The research of both Hashem (2009) and Danaher (2014:2) found a lack of previous education in their homeland was a significant barrier for learners to overcome. Other researchers such as Phillimore (2010:16), found that childcare and family commitments were also factors which impacted upon learners' ability to fully engage with ESOL classes.

Implications of Findings

The findings of this research are significant for both the ESOL qualification and its learners, identifying a need to raise the status of the ESOL qualification through greater recognition, and recognising barriers experienced by ESOL learners. The retrospective insight provided by former Home Secretary David Blunkett, along with the evidence from a year long ethnographic study, contributes to the existing knowledge base.

Despite the removal of the link between ESOL and citizenship, the importance of ESOL to learners has not diminished. The significant waiting list for ESOL classes at The College, along with 700,000 ESOL learners (Demos 2014, cited by Action for ESOL 2016), demonstrated the popularity of the course and its recognition amongst second language English speakers. As highlighted by David Blunkett, ESOL is not only positive for the ESOL learner, but also for wider society. It has been found that the learners within this research were motivated to improve their employability and progress onto higher education. As stated by Blunkett (2002, cited by Shaw 2002); greater employability helps to tackle segregation, however for this to be achieved there is a need for greater recognition of the ESOL qualification.

Benchmarking the ESOL qualification to a mainstream qualification and promoting this change would improve the recognition and raise the status of ESOL. This would realign the qualification with the needs and aspirations of the learner, while also assisting with upskilling those currently in work with English language needs. In addition, this change would provide greater identity for ESOL qualifications, particularly since the removal of the link with citizenship in 2015. The changes proposed to move from examinations to coursework would also enable the teaching staff to focus teaching on the needs of the learners throughout the year, as opposed to preparing for testing from the beginning of the year.

Within the classroom, the subject matter used is not always relevant, with worksheets and discussion not related to many of the lives or experiences of ESOL learners. The move from citizenship subjects to mainstream and popular topics can often engage learners in the lessons far more. However, it is important to note that

some ESOL learners at Level 2 have not previously studied citizenship and, as in the case of Dominika, had very little understanding of citizenship topics. Despite this, it is important for teachers to continue to choose the materials used within ESOL. The materials related to St David's Day and the visit to St Fagans, gave significant insight into the history, memories and traditions of the nation argued for by Smith (1993). In addition, there was greater engagement by learners when they took ownership of the subject matter through practical experience.

Furthermore, there is a need to change the procedures of government agencies when dealing with migrants and asylum seekers. Although not directly related to ESOL policy, it has a significant impact on both ESOL learning and progression. A fear of UKBA raids alongside the experience of Thabo with the Job Centre undermines trust in British authorities, particularly for those who have a fear of dealing with State officials.

Lessons Learned

The impact of the fieldwork was significant. The research was undertaken through an interest in nationalism and a desire to understand the process of learning about society by migrants in the UK.

I had decided not to read any research based on fieldwork within ESOL classes prior to my year in the field to ensure that the evidence gathered was not impacted by any preconceptions. In turn, this also meant I lacked an understanding for the experiences of what many learners had gone through prior to arriving in the UK.

The stories which were relayed by learners comprehensively changed my perspective, not only on migration but also on the society in which I live. An experience almost as significant was the professionalism and compassion of the staff working in ESOL centres. In the writing of this research there has been a need to lend a critical eye to the provision of ESOL, but this does not detract from the humility, professionalism and dedication of the individuals working in The College.

A concern during the fieldwork was that in providing an objective view of the fieldwork environment, I was betraying both the learners and staff. This is a common methodological issue for researchers undertaking fieldwork with participants for an extended period. The impact of this is that the findings are perhaps more reflective about the issues found, opposed to accepting the evidence at face value.

It is hoped that the findings of this research contribute to making positive changes in the experience of future learners and recognise the recommended changes for the classroom.

Future Research

In undertaking this research, two areas of further research were identified. Firstly, a review of the provision of English as a foreign language in secondary schools for pre-16 learners is needed. The experience of Sayid, supported by the experience of ESOL teachers demonstrates a lack of understanding of second language English learners in schools. Instead, many are placing these learners in the lowest class-sets in a school. In the case of Sayid this created a barrier to learning English which was

not overcome during the fieldwork and ultimately resulted in his leaving the ESOL class.

Secondly, there is a need for greater research into both the societal and educational barriers experienced by migrants. The effects of racism, financial constraints and personal factors on learners are considerable, undermining the efforts of the State and the effort of both the learners and teaching staff in the ESOL classroom.

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Appendix A

Female Learners

Bruna

Bruna was a 21-year-old female learner from South America. She speaks Portuguese and has Spanish citizenship. She moved from Paraguay straight to the UK to escape persecution due to difficulties with organised gangs. Her family first moved to the UK, and she soon followed. She had been in the UK for between 5 and 9 years, anticipated staying for a further 10-14-year period. She had been studying ESOL for 5 years, and started studying ESOL in order to get a job.

In her personal life, Bruna used English all the time through her work as a waitress, but didn't socialise with British-born people very often. Her favourite ESOL subject was writing because of the grammar lessons, but she found the speaking and listening classes the most useful in her everyday life. She had a very strong and stable home life, regularly doing family activities during the weekends. Her parents insisted on her spending her free time doing chores and homework to prevent her getting in any kind of trouble. For New Year and special holidays, Bruna travelled to the Midlands where a number of South American migrants met to celebrate. Both inside the classes and around the canteen, Bruna was permanently attached to both her mobile phone and her best friend Dominika.

Dominika

Dominika was a 21-year-old female learner from the Eastern bloc. Her native language was Russian, and she still maintains her home citizenship. She left the Eastern bloc with a high school education, and came to the UK seeking legal protection as she was escaping persecution.

Before coming to the UK, Dominika worked as a florist, but when asked didn't want to have the same career in the UK. Each lesson when careers were discussed, her chosen UK career option included; police officer, office manager, post office worker, translator and teacher. I spoke to Dominika about speaking to Molly about her career, and she replied "Molly will just say stay with the College, do ESOL for the next ten years and never go to university. That's what she says to everyone."

Dominika started ESOL classes in order to go to University, and hoped to join a mainstream college course after her ESOL graduation. She had been in the UK for between one and four years, and hoped to stay permanently, eventually hoping to gain British citizenship.

Dominika used her English language skills a lot outside the classroom, often socialising with British-born people. Her favourite ESOL class was reading, but found writing the most useful in her everyday life. Dominika was dating a student from another L2 class and told me she found his homework a lot easier than hers.

Kaja

Kaja was a 30-year-old woman who was born in Iraq, but has British citizenship. Her first language is Kurdish, and she had lived in other European countries before moving back to the UK 8 years ago. Although Kaja has British citizenship she didn't feel British, even since getting a British passport. Kaja lived on a large housing estate and aimed to move to a better area within the locality as, despite her British citizenship, she had experienced some hostility given her Arab origin.

Kaja enrolled on the ESOL course to make friends, improve job and education prospects, but also to assist with integrating into British society. She explained that she and her British husband often socialised with British-born people, but she didn't speak English often because she lacked confidence. Kaja enjoyed writing classes most; however, she found speaking and listening the most useful in everyday life.

Leyla

Leyla was a mid-thirties woman who had been in the UK for between 5 and 9 years. Leyla travelled to the UK from Iraq to escape political persecution. She is married and has one child which she gave birth to during the fieldwork year.

Leyla identified speaking and listening classes as her favourite subject, but stated that she enjoyed all the ESOL subjects. She had attended classes from Entry 2 at The College and her husband had also attended but graduated two years previous. Layla had a very close friendship with Arda, but also with Kaja and Amira due in part to their Kurdish origin. Layla would often speak Arabic during classes to get answers to questions or find out what homework had been set. Fortunately, Javed, who often sat next to me for most lessons, translated some of the Arabic discussions within the class.

Arda

Arda was a larger than life and constantly smiling member of the fieldwork sample. She was 34 and from Iraq/Kurdistan. She had a degree from a university in Iraq and was a teacher in a Kurdish school. She lived in an affluent area of the locality and

had two children, one of which was born during the fieldwork year. She left Kurdistan for the UK to be with friends and family and planned to stay in the UK permanently, having been granted citizenship. She felt that although ESOL encourages citizenship, she doesn't feel British despite having been granted citizenship.

The main reason for Arda to start ESOL classes was a desire to become part of British society and hoped to continue onto mainstream education after her ESOL graduation. Arda never socialised with native British people and spoke a little English outside ESOL classes. Her favourite class was speaking and listening as it gave confidence to speak with others.

Amira

Amira was a quiet but determined member of the ESOL class, dedicating herself to achieving anything she put her mind to. She was 43 years old and had 2 children. She moved to the UK from Iraq to be with her family, including a sister who lived in London. She went back to Iraq on average once a year including during the fieldwork year.

Previously a nurse in Iraq, she made it clear throughout the year that she wanted to continue to work as a nurse in the UK once her English met the required standards. Amira spoke Arabic and actively spoke in Arabic throughout classes to other students, despite the protests of the teaching staff. Amira also embraced technology, bringing an electronic translator to class which vocalised what was typed to ensure she was always understood. Whenever the teaching staff asked Amira to do something she didn't want to do, it appeared she suffered from a lack of understanding. Fortunately, this barrier was overcome if asked to do something she enjoyed. At the end of the fieldwork year I asked Amira about this and she explained "I understand what I need to understand", but would explain no further.

Amira had been in the UK for between 1 and 4 years and planned to settle permanently as she had gained British citizenship. Amira explained that ESOL encourages learners to seek citizenship and that she felt both British and accepted into British society. Amira explained that gaining acceptance into British society was one of the reasons she started ESOL, as was the desire to get a job. Amira spoke "a little" English outside class and "sometimes" socialised with British born people.

In College, her favourite class was Speaking and Listening because it allowed her to "learn how to speak", which meant it was also the lesson which she found most "useful".

Yaya

Yaya was an African woman who was 32 and has a first language of Arabic. Her husband had previously studied at The College and was well known to the teaching staff for his sense of humour. She didn't have a job in her home country and didn't know what job she wanted in the UK. She left her homeland to "follow" her husband, but chose the UK for political freedom. She had lived in the UK for 5 to 9 years and planned to settle permanently in the UK.

Yaya arrived at class around 30 minutes late due to childcare commitments. She lived a 30-minute walk from The College and her children's school was in the opposite direction. Yaya started studying ESOL at Level 2 and wanted to get British citizenship and felt that ESOL encouraged learners to get citizenship. Her favourite subject was Reading as "all the subject you can find it in reading, and I love reading"; however, Speaking and Listening was the most useful lesson in everyday life. The best part of Yaya's ESOL week was "the communications with the other nationalitys [sic] and the ESOL teachers".

Kanta

Kanta was a 29-year-old learner from Bangladesh. She married a British citizen and gained British citizenship. In Bangladesh she was a teacher and wanted to do a similar job in the UK. Following her marriage to a British citizen, she planned to

remain in the UK permanently, having already been in the UK for between 5 and 9 years.

Kanta started ESOL in Entry 3, with the aim of getting a job and eventually going to University. Despite being married to a British citizen, Kanta only spoke "a little" English outside the classroom and "sometimes" socialised with British people. Her favourite lesson was writing, and she explained that "when I write about something I have to use grammar, tense, punctuation and relative clus [sic] etc., that's why writing is very useful for me". Although when asked which subject is most useful in her everyday life, she stated it was Speaking and Listening.

Lucie

Lucie was a very loud and outgoing person who was involved in most activities in ESOL. She was 43 years old and from Africa with a first language of French. The first lesson I attended with Lucie included identifying famous people. Lucie identified George Bush Jr and exclaimed "that is George Bush, he is a peace maker", much to the annoyance of other learners and amusement of the teaching staff.

In her home country Lucie was a teacher but she wanted to be a nurse in the UK. She left Africa to escape persecution and chose to come to the UK for its legal protection. She had been in the UK for 10 to 14 years and planned to stay permanently. She started studying ESOL to get citizenship, which she successfully achieved believing that ESOL encourages learners to get citizenship. Lucie also started studying ESOL to go to University, which is where she hoped to go upon completion of ESOL Level 2.

Outside of The College, Lucie speaks English a lot, and sometimes socialises with British born people. Her favourite lesson was writing "because I learn grammar punctuation and differents [sic] rules". The most useful lesson was speaking and listening and although she wouldn't have changed anything, she felt that she would learn more if ESOL were taught in her native French.

Male Learners

Saare

Saare was a 30-year-old male student from Africa, who is married with two kids, one of which was born during my fieldwork year. Saare attended college in Africa but came to the UK through other European countries to escape persecution. While in Eritrea, Saare witnessed family members being killed and took shelter in a partially buried shipping container with other refugees.

Although he had been in the UK for less than 4 years, Saare planned to settle permanently. He worked in a city centre nightclub and came to classes on a Monday morning talking about the 'sinful things' he witnessed during the weekend nights at work. He had a desire to gain British citizenship, and felt accepted in British society. Saare started ESOL classes to help integrate into British society, and also go onto University.

When asked how often he socialised with British born people, he said this was "often" and used his English a lot outside the classroom. His favourite ESOL lesson was writing as he "learn[s] many things from writings [sic] like grammar, punctuation etc.". Writing was also the most useful lesson in his everyday life. The best part of his ESOL week was the speaking and listening class on a Thursday as he

enjoyed the group discussions. He mentioned a number of times a desire to attend ESOL 4 days a week instead of the full 5 days due to family commitments.

Sayid

Sayid is from the same African country as Saare. Sayid was an 18-year-old male, who came to the UK to be with his family. When I first asked his name he told me to call him 'Boss' and so it remained throughout the fieldwork. Sayid and Saare were on opposing sides of the political unrest in their native country with Sayid being distinctly pro-government. He had received some education in Eritrea, but finished high school in the UK.

The high school Sayid attended in the UK did not provide specialist ESOL education, and therefore he was placed in the bottom class for all subjects. By being placed in the bottom set, Sayid was taught in a disruptive environment, which The College believed accounted for his difficult behaviour in classes. Throughout his time in ESOL there was an apparent lack of commitment and he frequently had arguments with staff, which centred on his refusal to do the work in class and taking phone calls during class time. When asked about Sayid, the staff explained that he was not a typical ESOL learner they would see, due to his history with native students in the lower sets at high school. It was suggested that because of his UK high school experience, Sayid believed that it was the normal way to act in classes. Kate explained this was something teachers have "seen many times before".

As the year became more difficult, Sayid left The College to seek employment as a security guard. The College suggested he attend some classes to take exams, but he refused and left early in the second term.

Mohammad

Mohammad was a 28-year-old learner from Somalia, who also left ESOL during the fieldwork year. He had a wife and three children. He had lived in the area for 8 years, and has studied ESOL at The College from Entry 2 level. I sat near Mohammad in many classes and he often asked for help as he found the work "too hard". The teachers explained to Mohammad that it was normal to struggle bridging the gap between Level 1 and Level 2. Despite the effort of the teaching staff, in November Mohammad decided to leave the ESOL classroom to pursue a career as a taxi driver.

I visited Mohammad regularly during the year on taxi ranks to see how his language skills had progressed. There was a natural progression in his ability to make conversation, although we often had the same conversations each time we met like a rehearsed script. During some visits at night, Mohammad seemed agitated and complained that he was often the victim of racist comments from drunken revellers. Although I did not witness any incidences of racism, many other taxi drivers provided corroboration to Mohammad's complaint.

The College tried to persuade Mohammad to remain in classes, offering flexible learning and even offering to have him as a part-time student, which wasn't something offered by The College in normal circumstances. But Mohammad felt his English was "enough" to let him work as a taxi driver so did not want to continue with the classes.

Omar

Omar was a learner who left early in the academic year. Omar was 30 and had a wife and two young children. He lived on a large housing estate in what the Welsh Government describes as an area of 'deprivation'. He had 98% attendance for the first 2 months of the year, but then went for 2 weeks without any attendance and finally the class was told that he had taken the decision to leave.

Omar explained that his wife and children were at home when a racist incident occurred. This happened while he was at The College and so he left ESOL to be with his family until a house in a different area became available.

Javed

Javed was a 30-year-old Iranian learner whose first language was Farsi. In Iran he working in telecommunications but wanted to be a football manager in the UK. While studying ESOL he gained a number of FA football coaching qualifications. He was also voted student president for the whole of The College due to a landslide amount of voting from the ESOL learners. During tutorial periods Javed would offer to do homework for other learners on condition that they voted for him.

Javed left Iran in an effort to escape persecution and came to the UK for political freedom. The College wasn't the first ESOL centre he attended. At the end of the ESOL year he mentioned a number of times that he didn't want The College to be like the other ESOL centres because they weren't good, but when asked, refused to elaborate any further. He had been in the UK for 1 to 4 years, and felt accepted in British society. Although not a British citizen, Javed wanted to become one and

believed that ESOL encouraged learners to become citizens. The main reasons he started studying ESOL was the desire to be part of British society, make friends, get a job and go to university. He hoped University would be his next step after ESOL.
He worked in a takeaway 5 nights a week and was able to practice some English with customers. Despite this, he found writing the most useful subject in his everyday life. It was also his favourite lesson, explaining "if I improve my writing skill, I will be able to improve my speaking as well by saying sentences grammatically".

Thabo

Thabo was a 32-year-old African learner who had been in the UK for 1 to 4 years. He left Africa for political reasons and came to the UK for political protection. He is hoping to stay in the UK for up to 10 years and received Leave to Remain during the fieldwork year.

His first language was Arabic and he would like to work as a security guard in the UK. He felt accepted in the UK and believed that ESOL encouraged citizenship. After ESOL, Thabo planned on going onto a mainstream course, ultimately planning to go to University. This desire to go to University was the main reason he studied ESOL classes.

He speaks English a lot outside of the College and sometimes socialises with British born people. His favourite lesson is reading "because by reading I can make huige [sic] base of knowledge". Throughout the fieldwork Thabo often bought Shakespeare books to College and read them during his free time in the canteen.

Amiin

Amiin is a 50-year-old African learner who left his home country for political freedom and chose the UK to be with his family. Before arriving in the UK, Amiin lived in Russia and then Denmark, where he gained Danish citizenship. He had been in the UK for between 5 and 9 years and planned to stay up to 20 years. He expressed a desire to gain British citizenship and this was one of the reasons he started studying ESOL alongside wanting to make friends, get a job and go to University. He believed that ESOL encourages citizenship and uses English a lot when not in College.

He found writing his favoured subject, but found Speaking and Listening the most useful lesson. While in Africa he owned a ladies clothing shop and, when asked, wanted to start a similar business in the UK.

Other ESOL Learners

During the fieldwork year, a number of other ESOL learners from other classes were included in activities or issues at the ESOL centre. Other students who were occasionally within the classroom gave consent to be featured in the research, but asked that no details other than simple quotations be included. These learners are featured by anonymised name within the findings chapters, but their details are not contained in this appendix.

Overview of Teaching Staff

Molly

Molly is an ESOL teacher at the College. She was a highly energetic and matter of fact teacher; widely respected amongst both her peers and the students. For learners, Molly is a key support; when one learner was removed to her native country by the UK Border Agency, Molly was one of a few teachers who set up a trust fund to ensure the learner was able to survive during the first year following her deportation. Although longstanding in her post, Molly continued to progress the work of ESOL to benefit the learner experience. During the fieldwork year, Molly pioneered an effort to link mainstream course students with ESOL learners through the Welsh Baccalaureate voluntary work scheme.

Molly has a longstanding history of more than 20 years at the College and has ESOL specific teaching qualifications. As well as being the head of ESOL and main contact for the fieldwork, Molly taught the Level 2 class BTEC in Vocational Studies.

Kate

Kate was a young energetic teacher of the Level 2 cohort. Kate was a clever, kind and considered teacher who was often concerned with providing academic and pastoral support to the learners.

During periods of learners' absence of personal barriers, Kate ensured that there was a holistic view of the learners' progress through the year, including teacher comments, pastoral issues, attendance and assignment marks. Kate ensured that a rolling process of reviewing these with learners was underway through the two 1 hour tutorials each week.

Kate had a background of teaching English across Europe as well as in the UK and as such has an ESOL specific teaching qualification.

Hannah

Hannah taught the Level 2 group for 3 hours each week. Hannah was a reasonably new ESOL teacher, but had a substantial history teaching English. The learners complained about her method of teaching and found topics took too long to be covered.

Hannah was also very protective of the students and on a number of occasions during the fieldwork there were occasions where Hannah would advocate for the learners when their test scores or personal issues interfered with their ESOL classes.
In addition to her longstanding teaching experience, Hannah held an ESOL related teaching qualification.

Simon

Simon is the longest serving ESOL teacher in The College and is of Central European descent. A very laid back teacher who plays guitar in a local band and also embraces the use of technology in the classroom. Despite being laid back, Simon took the language needs of learners seriously and handed out the most 'Yellow Cards' to learners for not completing homework. If learners were not engaging with a topic or were disruptive, he would also address this quickly to prevent the class becoming distracted. Particularly during the Speaking and Listening classes, he used a great deal of contemporary language with learners which caused some confusion to start with, but led to a greater understanding of modern usage of language. He taught

on a range of ESOL courses including ESOL with Business and latterly ESOL for Construction. During the fieldwork Simon taught 3 hours of Speaking and Listening and one hour of reading to the fieldwork group each week.

Simon holds an ESOL specific teaching qualification.

Fiona

Fiona taught the ESOL class for two hours each week. She was a firm teacher who passionately rebuked the use of native languages in the classroom. She had a longstanding history of teaching ESOL and English language.

Fiona was often the counsel sought for advice by other ESOL staff and kept an upbeat attitude in the staffroom. In addition to her extensive teaching experience, Fiona has an ESOL specific teaching qualification.

Olivia

Olivia was perhaps the youngest member of the ESOL teaching team, but also one of the most dedicated. During evening, nights and weekends Olivia organised the extra-curricular activities including a Castle trip, St Fagans visit and ESOL Trade Fayre. She arranged the logistics of the trips and getting the correct permissions.

In addition to this Olivia was the tutor of an ESOL group and worked to integrate the work of the OCN Communications curriculum with the ESOL Speaking and Listening examinations. Olivia was described by Javed as “more than a teacher, she’s my best friend”.

Olivia taught the fieldwork class the OCN Communications for 2 hours per week. Olivia has an ESOL specific teaching qualification.

Other Teaching Staff

A number of other members of teaching staff were present in the fieldwork but did not directly feature within the fieldwork evidence gathering. These included Jill, Darren, Camilla and Mandy.